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THE  
HISTORY  
AND  
PRESENT CONDITION  
OF  
S T. D O M I N G O.

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BY J. BROWN, M. D.

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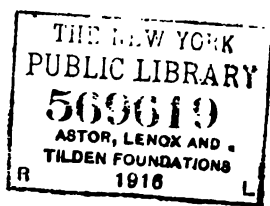
HUMAN AFFAIRS ARE IN NO INSTANCE GOVERNED BY STRICT POSITIVE  
RIGHT.—JURINS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.



PHILADELPHIA:  
WILLIAM MARSHALL AND CO.  
1837.

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## HISTORY OF ST. DOMINGO.

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### CHAPTER I.

Opposite policy pursued by Toussaint and Hedouville—Machiavelism of Toussaint—New troubles in the North—Departure of Hedouville for France—War between Toussaint and Rigaud—Conspiracy of Mulattoes against Toussaint—Atrocities of the war—Arrival of new Commissioners from France—Their arrest by orders of Toussaint—Departure of Rigaud from the country—Toussaint's habits and mode of life at this time—His grandeur and internal policy—Manners at his court—His conquest of the Spanish territory—He contemplates securing the sovereignty of the island in his own family—A constitution is framed, making him governor for life, with the right of appointing his successor.

GEN. HEDOUVILLE had proclaimed that all the blacks of St. Domingo were free, but that they were to labor as formerly upon the plantations, and the productions of the country were to be divided in the proportions of one third to the black laborers, one third to the French republic, and the remaining third to the proprietors of the plantations. It was further ordered by the commissioner, that all colonists who had been in the service of England, and all who had emigrated to other lands, should be expelled forever from St. Domingo, and their property be confiscated to the state. Toussaint, on the other hand, made proclamation that there existed a general amnesty in favor of all those accused of political offences—that the name *emigrant* no longer existed as a term of reproach or an object of persecution—and that all former proprietors, without a single exception, were invited back to their homes, to place themselves under the protection of the new government. The future freedom of the negroes was ratified by him, but it was dependent solely upon the condition of their continuing to labor for their ancient masters. Of the products of the plantations which arose from this labor, one fourth was allotted as

the portion of the negroes—though this fourth was to be placed in the hands of the proprietor, to be employed by him for the support of his negro laborers. Thus these two functionaries placed themselves each at the head of a totally opposite system of internal policy; and the agent of the French republic found himself thwarted in all his designs by the superior resources of his powerful rival.

Gen. Hedouville, as a final effort to sustain himself against these encroachments on his authority, adopted the measure of calling both Toussaint and Rigaud to another conference, which was to take place at Cape Francois; and to avoid arousing any suspicions in the breast of Toussaint as to the sincerity of this movement, he gave out that he had important communications to make upon public affairs. But Toussaint could not be circumvented by such a stratagem, and the measure of the commissioner served no purpose but to hasten his own final discomfiture. Toussaint had already drawn his toils around him, and was waiting a favorable moment to oblige him to surrender at discretion. He now set about making his final arrangements to end the campaign against the commissioner, by driving him both from his authority and from the island altogether.

Toussaint's most active partisans were despatched in all directions, to excite the blacks against the French commissioner, and to prepare a movement which was to leave Toussaint without a rival in the government. It is related on the authority of a respectable white planter, that when some black officers entered in haste to inform Toussaint that Rigaud was at that moment passing through Port au Prince (where Toussaint then happened to be, while Rigaud was journeying to the appointed conference to be held at Cape Francois,) the black chief replied to the communication—"Let Gen. Rigaud proceed on his way; he goes to receive the instructions of the agent of the Directory. Leave him in peace and retire." The officers immediately obeyed, and the person who relates the occurrence was about to retire with them, when he was hastily recalled by Toussaint, who exclaimed—"No, stop—I have not yet had enough of your company;" and then in a hollow voice he proceeded with the following soliloquy: "I might arrest him—but, God help me, I

have need of Rigaud. He is violent. It is necessary for me to have a war—and for this he will suit my purpose. The mulattoes are superior to the blacks—and if I deprive them of Rigaud, they will perhaps find another leader much more dangerous. I know Rigaud well. He leaps from his horse when at a full gallop, and he puts all his force in his arm when he strikes a blow. But no matter : I can gallop also—and more than this, I know where to stop, and when I strike a blow I am felt but not seen. Rigaud cannot get up a tumult without massacre and blood. I know how to produce a commotion and no more. He sighs when he sees the people in a rage, though he himself has excited it. I permit no rage at all. When I make my appearance every thing must be hushed to silence.” History, says Lacroix, has no such example of Machiavelism : to which might be added—no such picturesque delineation of character, and that, too, in a black just released from slavery. The result justified the depth of Toussaint’s policy. His secret agents were already busy in every parish, spreading the report that Gen. Hedouville, in jealousy of Toussaint’s growing celebrity, was preparing to deprive him of the command and restore all authority in the island to whites, and thus bring about the re-establishment of slavery. Toussaint’s course was a direct one, as it could not fail to be suggested to him that all real power in the island was now in the hands of the blacks, with whom he was all-powerful ; and that the whites of the country, who constituted the whole support of Hedouville, so far from possessing the means to re-enslave the negroes, were but a little remnant of refugees, who inhabited the country but by their sufferance.

The blacks immediately took the alarm, and murmurs of resentment and movements of a threatening character began to take place, to the disquiet and terror of the whites who were placed among them. A vengeful and mutinous spirit began to display itself in a regiment of black troops stationed at Fort Dauphin, under the orders of Toussaint’s nephew, Gen. Moyse. The white inhabitants of that district, alarmed for their safety, attempted to disarm the blacks through the assistance of some European troops, but this could not be effected without violence, and a skirmish was the consequence. Enraged at

this attempt, the black regiment quitted the town, and rushed forth into the plain of Cape Francois to call their brethren to arms and slaughter. Another work of carnage was soon begun. Flames were applied to several plantations just restored from their desolation, and all the whites who were found upon them were delivered to the sword. When these insurrectionary proceedings were known at Cape Francois Gen. Hedouville lost no time in hastening towards the scene of tumult; and when intelligence of the same proceedings came to Toussaint he commenced a journey without delay, professing that it was in obedience to orders which he had received from Gen. Hedouville: but when he had been informed that the French commissioner had departed from Cape Francois he turned immediately on his steps, and went back to St. Marks. Hedouville, in distress and consternation at the storm of troubles that was thickening on every side of him, despatched two of his aids de camp to St. Marks, to invoke the assistance of Toussaint, in whom, he saw, resided all hope of restoring tranquillity to the irritated blacks. The blacks throughout the whole country were now fully aroused against what they believed the treacherous designs of the whites, and these two aids de camp were murdered at a place called Ravine Seche, by an ambuscade of negroes. Toussaint has been accused of procuring this assassination by direct orders secretly given to that effect; and it is said that when tidings of the murder were brought to him while at mass a grim smile of complacency for a moment enkindled his countenance. But there is no evidence of this direct agency in the affair, however the crafty and reckless policy of Toussaint may be chargeable for the murderous spirit of vengeance that was now animating the blacks against the whites.

Gen. Hedouville now found his situation one of unmixed distress. The very officers of his household had been murdered while bearing despatches from their chief, and the negroes, gathered in hordes in the plain of Cape Francois, were re-enacting the horrors of the first insurrection, while he was without power or means to arrest their excesses. In the midst of this discouragement and alarm, Toussaint all at once made his appearance among

the insurgents in the plain of Cape Francois, and with an anxiety and astonishment that were well feigned he mingled in their ranks to inquire an explanation of the grievances which had aroused them to arms against their brethren, the whites. Order and arrangement were soon restored to the crowd of negroes, and putting himself at their head Toussaint immediately put them in motion toward the town of Cape Francois, around which they encamped in the dead of night. An alarm gun was immediately fired from Fort Belair, and the whole population, aroused by it from their sleep, awaited in silent anxiety the commencement of some new disaster. Every one, blacks and all, were soon called to their posts, to make what defence was possible in the expected attack upon the town. But tidings were soon whispered from one to another among the blacks of the place that Toussaint was at the head of the besieging force, and in an incredibly short space of time all of them had glided from their posts, and the town was left almost entirely without defenders.

Gen. Hedouville thus finding himself without support against the swarm of assailants who were at the very gates, took the resolution to embark for France, that his presence might not bring new desolation upon a country so unhappy. The ship in which he embarked was followed by three frigates and all the merchantmen then in the port—and accompanying the commissioner there were more than fifteen hundred persons, of all colors, who in despair for permanent tranquillity to their distracted country had taken the resolution to fly to another no less miserable. Before he departed, Gen. Hedouville published a proclamation, in which he accused the black chiefs of St. Domingo of being about to put in execution a design which had been long in meditation. This he declared to be a project of making the island independent of the French republic—a plan which had long ago been concerted between him who was then at the head of the government of St. Domingo and the cabinet of London.

Scarcely had Gen. Hedouville departed from the harbor, when the blacks, whose ferocity and exaltation had been just before so uncontrollable, at the nod of Toussaint became at once peaceable; and they returned in si-

lent submission to their various occupations. *Te Deum* was chanted as usual, for the victory which had been achieved over the treacherous purposes of the French commissioner; and while blessings were uttered to the Supreme Being for granting them his protection in their peril, ascriptions of praise were offered to Toussaint for preserving his race from slavery. Toussaint was now at the head of the state, and without a single rival in the north of the island. He now knew to a certainty how vast was his influence over the blacks, and how secure were his plans of eventual success. As if to sport with the blind devotedness of his countrymen, and to maintain his habits of crafty policy when downright honesty would serve him as well, Toussaint now affected a disgust with public life, and expressed a desire to retire from all military and civil power, satisfied in his ambition with having wrought out the salvation of his race. This readily produced the result which had been calculated upon. He was thronged by deputations of all colors—white, black and yellow—proprietary and laborers—all offering their earnest solicitations that he would still continue to be their father and benefactor. Toussaint received these tributes of adulation with a rigid countenance, which manifested neither complacency nor shame. A stoic in every look and attitude, this singular negro had but one aspect in which the usual weaknesses of humanity were disclosed to view. His indignation was not feigned, but fearfully real, when the names of those were mentioned who in the National Assembly of France had most distinguished themselves for speaking against the blacks. When their names were heard in his presence his eyes grew inflamed with a rage which he could not entirely smother, and he trembled with passion when obliged to name them himself.

Toussaint hastened to despatch letters to the Directory to excuse the forced departure of Gen. Hedouville, and to disown all charges that might be brought against him from his agency in that affair. These letters are curious for their mock revolutionary style; and they openly charged Gen. Hedouville with a conduct during his mission which had thrown the country into such disorder and panic that he felt it to be his duty to interpose his authority, to end the troubles and rescue the citizens from the

designs of the commissioner. He dwelt much upon the consequences of this act, which he asserted had drawn down upon him the causeless hatred and accusation of Gen. Hedouville. But he alleged that he would throw himself upon the justice of the Directory, if in his zeal for its interests he had done any thing that was wrong; and he added that soon as his efforts had succeeded in establishing tranquillity he should send for the commissioner Roume, the agent of the Directory in the Spanish territory, and deliver up all his authority to him.

Toussaint had now no competitor but Rigaud, who, however useful he might have been to the success of his intrigues against Hedouville, was now, at this new change in his position, a rival that he could no longer endure in the field. The secret of Rigaud's influence over the mulattoes resided in the same comparative circumstances as did that of Toussaint over the blacks; and in estimating the power of his rival by his own boundless authority, Toussaint considered that his own success would never be perfect so long as there existed such a competitor to act against him. He felt that to be supreme in St. Domingo there must exist but one such as he, and that the struggle must never be relaxed until either himself or the mulatto chieftain had yielded to inevitable destiny: but Toussaint knew that the means of his power, consisting as they did in the superior numbers of the blacks, must in the end enable him to triumph over Rigaud. The hostile claims of these two chiefs, who shared between them the whole power of the island, soon brought on a bloody struggle between the blacks and mulattoes. But before this had proceeded far, Roume, who had assumed to himself the title of Agent of the Directory, judging that this was an accidental collision, and not an irreconcilable strife for life or death, thought to succeed in arresting the hostilities by acting the part of peacemaker. He invited the two rival chiefs to an interview at Port au Prince, in order to bring about a reconciliation. Rigaud came thither with reluctance—he was indignant that Leogane had not been left within the limits of his authority, and his proud spirit felt humbled at the thought of conferring with, much more of yielding obedience to, a black general. Roume had some time before this counselled him

to be distrustful of Toussaint, and to remain forever faithful to the French republic. To a rival chieftain, whose jealousy was ever on the alert, this advice was enough to give decision to his hostility. He soon ceased from all communication with Toussaint, and he retired to his government resolved at least to maintain himself there, even if at some future time he should not succeed in wresting the province of the North from the sway of the negro chieftain.

But he witnessed with solicitude and alarm the growing greatness of Toussaint, who now, triumphant in all his other designs, was assuming a menacing attitude toward the South. The increasing distrust of Rigaud was manifested by complaints and reproaches, and these were soon followed by a recourse to arms. For this result both sides were prepared, and the arrangements for a campaign were as prompt on both sides as the hatred between the two chiefs was keen and active. The mulattoes, alarmed at the prospect that the future government of the island was likely to be engrossed altogether by the blacks, thronged from all parts of the island to join the ranks of Rigaud. They now deemed it as great a degradation to be governed by blacks, as had the whites a few years before considered it an indignity to be placed under the authority of mulattoes. As a race they were endowed with greater intelligence, they were more enterprising and brave, and in all respects their physical and moral superiority was more decided than their rivals, the blacks. They were equally ferocious, and confident as they were in their superior powers they saw without a thought of discouragement or fear the enormous disparity of ten to one in the respective numbers of their adversaries and themselves.

The war from its first outbraking was a burst of ferocity. No one hoped for compassion, and no one thought of giving quarter. Both sides deemed their opponents outlaws, and placed as such beyond the pale of mercy or common kindness. Those who were subdued upon the field of battle were never left in a situation to fight again, and those who fled from the ruthless weapons of their pursuers were soon busy in another quarter, subjecting every living thing to carnage and death. Both sides accused each other of being traitors to their country, of



being sold to the English, and of wishing to re-establish slavery. Both parties alleged that they were in arms for France, and assuming themselves to be friends to the republic, both parties displayed its standard. The whites served as auxiliaries in the ranks of both according to the situation of their property or the place of their residence, while they were by both treated as inferiors. Those residing in the South were compelled to serve among the forces of Rigaud, and those in other parts of the colony, if they did not perform the campaign with Toussaint, were required to make continual prayers and sacrifices for his success. Rigaud began the war by surprising Leogane, where a multitude of persons of every rank and color were put to death without mercy. Toussaint on learning this hastened together all the troops which he then had in the neighborhood of Port au Prince, and ordered all the mulattoes to assemble at the church of that town, where he mounted the pulpit and announced to them his intended departure to war against their brethren. Filled with the spirit of prophecy in his fanaticism, or rather assuming it for purposes of policy, he predicted that he should succeed in his projected enterprise—that the power of Rigaud was about to fall—and that entire ruin was about to sweep over the race of mulattoes. In the heat and earnestness of his discourse he cried out, “I see into the recesses of your bosoms—you are ready to rise against me, but though my troops are about to leave this province you cannot succeed, for I shall leave behind me both my eyes and my arms, the one to watch and the other to reach you.” At the close of this threatening admonition the mulattoes were permitted to leave the church, and they retired awestruck and trembling with solicitude to their homes.

The forces of Rigaud, fighting under the eyes of the chief whom they adored, defended with vigor the passes leading to their territory, and though they were but a handful in comparison with the hordes who marched under the banners of Toussaint, their brave exertions were generally crowned with success. The favorers of Toussaint who fell into the hands of Rigaud at Jeremie, Grand and Petit Goave, and other places, were sacrificed without mercy to the fury of their captors, and many white pro-

prietors paid with their lives the forfeiture of having been in dangerous haste to hail Toussaint as a deliverer who gave flattery to their hopes.

The mulattoes under Rigaud, more intelligent and more skilled in the combinations of military movement, made up for their deficiency in numbers by greater rapidity and effectiveness in their operations. A series of masterly manœuvres and diversions were followed up in quick succession, which kept the black army in full employment. While these events were in progress in the South, a formidable movement was in preparation within the proper territory of Toussaint, which in case of success would have given the black chief sufficient occupation to maintain himself in his own province. A plot was formed among the mulattoes of the North, the ramifications of which extended through that whole province, and the object of which was to seize upon the opportunity which presented itself, to depose Toussaint from his authority, and to secure all future power in the island to the class of mulattoes. These conspirators, however, committed the capital fault of pronouncing against the whites, who, instead of being courted into active coöperation with them in their intended movement, were seized as prisoners and thrown into confinement at Gonaives, Gros Morne and other places. Pierre Michel, the black general who commanded at Limbé—the chief of brigade, Barthelemy, who commanded at Cape Francois, and many other black officers who had been the secret adherents of Hedouville, were drawn over in a body to aid a conspiracy which was to promote the interests of Rigaud. The mulattoes of the North had just begun to anticipate final success in their enterprise, and the name of Toussaint had grown less formidable in consequence of the report that he was closely shut up in Port au Prince, and that the commandant of that town, Christophe Mornet, had been gained over to espouse the cause of Rigaud, when Toussaint, having discovered the machinations against him, and beheaded those blacks who had been treacherous to his interests at Port au Prince, flew with the rapidity of an eagle to the North, forced by night the post which the conspirators had established at the bridge of the Ester, fell upon the mulattoes by surprise, completely dispersing them, and

delivering the white prisoners at Gonaives, Gros Morne and other places; and he stopped only at the Mole St. Nicholas, after having escaped dangers without number, and at one fell swoop completely broken up a widely extended and powerful conspiracy, which flattered itself that it was on the point of annihilating his overgrown power forever.\*

The mulattoes were perfectly overthrown, but Toussaint's vengeance was too much fettered by his crafty policy to destroy their lives as the punishment of their perfidy, and he felt himself too secure in his power to dread their farther machination. But their lot was made severe in the extreme. All who were in a state to bear arms were torn from their homes, and made to follow in the rear of the different companies of black troops, who were encouraged to lavish upon them every excess of insult and outrage. They were all nearly naked, and many of them were compelled to march in chains, while for the least complaint against them they were subjected to punishment by flogging, or to military execution. Their hard fate was worthy of pity, and there was nothing to promise that it would ever terminate, when Toussaint at the close of one of his rapid journeys, came suddenly to Cape Francois, with an air of dissatisfaction on his features,—and this portentous aspect was thought to forebode nothing good to those of his enemies who were in that town. In the evening he held a great *reunion* at the government house, and during most of the time he employed himself in putting religious questions to a number of young whites who had been presented to him by a priest who had been charged with their education. He complained that they did not know their catechism, and he admonished them to study well, because upon a certain day he should interrogate them again, at a solemn mass, at which all the civil and military authorities would be present. On this appointed day the whole population received orders to proceed to church, where they found a considerable force of Toussaint's black troops lining the approaches to the edifice, and enclosed within the circle of troops there were the mulattoes almost in a state of nudity, and awaiting the crisis of their fate in sorrow or

\* Lacroix.

despair. Toussaint, instead of placing himself at the head of the youths who were to be examined in their religious studies, put himself at the head of his troops, and pronounced with a solemn air a discourse upon the virtue of forgiveness of offences—and after dwelling a long time upon the duties of mercy and clemency, he declared in a loud voice that the mulattoes had been punished enough, and that they ought to be pardoned by every body as freely as they were by him—that they were to have passports to go to their families, and henceforth to be protected and treated as brethren.

The applause that burst forth from all parts of the assembly at the close of this speech was the deeper that it was the effect of astonishment as well as admiration; and Toussaint, enjoying the triumph which he had so craftily brought about, was followed when he left the church by the benedictions and huzzas of the multitude. This stroke of policy, which was expected to produce immense results, had no influence, however, upon those mulattoes who had arms in their hands. The fierce struggle in the South did not abate, and the hostilities continued the more relentless that they were wars on account of social condition rather than ambition or even political opinion. Toussaint found at length that those who fought with such desperation could not be easily overcome, and he soon discovered that all his influence was necessary to keep together his own troops, who already began to give signs of watering at the fierce resistance which they encountered.

The white population within the limits of Toussaint's power, who had been hitherto exempted from actual service in the field, was now all summoned to Cape Francois to set an example of obedience and discipline to the blacks. They were sent away for more than two hundred miles into the South, far from their homes and families, to spend themselves in a service which, in whatever way it terminated, would bring no good to themselves. Their situation in the country was now so equivocal and dangerous that they found themselves bound to obey without daring to offer a single remonstrance.

The printed accounts of the time manifest the terror that was prevalent, when no one dared to speak of the war, or make known its daily results. The public jour-

nals only published the official reports of the generals, without hazarding a comment or reflection upon the character and consequences of the events ; for the great variety of success, and the exasperated feeling on both sides, made it dangerous for the victors to exult, when those whom they had vanquished might the next day become the avengers of the blood of their brethren. No one can follow the details of this war without being thrilled with horror at its atrocities. Ingenuity was taxed to its utmost to furnish forth new severities of torture ; and the very teeth of the vanquisher were often employed to tear the flesh from the wretched victim of his ferocity.

An affright, artfully got up by Rigaud, drove the blacks from the plantations in the country to seek a refuge for themselves in the towns. Here, being pressed closely by the mulatto forces, the negroes were goaded on by despair to turn upon their pursuers. The assailants were affrighted at the very numbers of the assailed ; and when they were attacked by them in their turn they were overcome in the conflict, and forced by a fiendlike ferocity to drink deeply and bitterly of the poisoned chalice which they had once commended to the lips of their enemy. These crowds, huddled together in the towns, soon consumed all the sustenance of the land. A famine was the consequence, and in the town of Jacmel more than four thousand persons perished with hunger. The garrison of that town, which was under the command of Petion, losing all hopes of succor while it was kept closely invested by the forces of Toussaint, made a sortie by night, when issuing forth sword in hand the mulattoes overthrew every thing that opposed them, and fled to Grande Goave, after losing more than eighteen hundred of their number in the *melee*, and leaving behind them a great number of women, who fell into the hands of the blacks.

In such a strife the party most abounding in numbers must eventually triumph from the mere circumstance of its having the most survivors. The blacks, after losing many thousands of their number, began at last to gain ground on their opponents. Rigaud, reduced in his means of defence, had the misfortune to see his towns fall one after another into the power of Toussaint, until he was driven to the last citadel of his strength—the town

of Aux Cayes. As he thus yielded foot by foot, every thing was given to desolation before it was abandoned, and the land which under his active government had just before been so adorned with cultivation, was made such a waste of desolation that according almost to the very letter of his orders, "the trees were turned with their roots in the air." The genius and activity of Toussaint were completely at fault in his efforts to force the mulatto general from his last entrenchments. His power could not supply the desert with provisions for his famishing army, and the fierceness of his troops availed nothing over the cool courage of despair. He was foiled in every new attempt, and his enemy stood immovably at bay, notwithstanding the active assaults and overwhelming numbers of his forces.

In this dilemma Toussaint was called away from the scene of action by a new event, intimately connected with the preservation of his power. A man by the name of Vincent had been despatched to France by the commissioner Roume, to give information to the Directory of the terrible conflict that was then going on in the island between the blacks and the mulattoes. These advices were acted upon without delay, and the same man Vincent was placed at the head of another commission, composed of M. Raimond and the black general, Michel, who were ordered to proceed immediately to St. Domingo, and bring about a restoration of peace to that island. Toussaint had already arrested the two white commissioners, as they were proceeding on their route from Santo Domingo to Cape Francois. Their testimonials and papers had been examined by his order; and upon his being assured that the new commission had no ulterior measures in view beyond the main object of its mission, they had been set at liberty by a new order, emanating from the same source as the first. But Toussaint now saw it necessary for him to leave the field of his conquests, and his adversary almost within his reach, and proceed to Cape Francois to learn the designs of these new agents from France. The conference was opened by an official announcement of the late changes in the executive government of France, and that Toussaint had been confirmed in his office as general-in-chief by the new consular government. This

confirmation of his power, which at an earlier period would have given the black chief cause of secret exultation, now, in the palmy state of his fortunes, paid little incense to his ambition. He murmured that the First Consul had not written to him personally. The commissioners were the bearers of two despatches from the First Consul, one of which defined the respective duties of the members of the commission, assigning to the black general, Michel, the separate employment of acting in the armies of St. Domingo under the orders of Toussaint; and to Raimond, who was also placed in subjection to the government agent, Roume, the peculiar office was given to superintend and direct every thing pertaining to agriculture. It was ordered that the following words be inscribed in letters of gold upon the colors of the national guard of St. Domingo.

“BRAVE BLACKS,

“*Remember that it is the French Republic alone that recognizes your liberty,*

“AND THE EQUALITY OF YOUR RIGHTS.”

The other despatch was a proclamation to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, declaring that the colony was in future to be governed by special laws, and ordering that a new legislature should be assembled to make those laws. These documents were signed by Bonaparte as First Consul; and while they professed to give stability to the existing institutions of the island, they were secretly designed to continue the influence of France over its government. But however they interfered not with the present power of Toussaint, the new regulations were far from being satisfactory to him, as he wished for no external control over a government which he hoped to make his own; and more than all, he desired no new legislature to set itself in array against his own authority.

Gen. Michel, indignant and disgusted at being arrested at his first entrance into the country, demanded and obtained permission to return to France. Toussaint found some excuse to evade printing the proclamation—and he neglected to put the prescribed sentence upon the colors of the national guard. He departed for the South to proclaim to the army his confirmation as general-in-chief, and to renew his efforts to drive Rigaud from that province.

Meantime the commissioner Vincent, accompanied by a single black and mulatto, ventured to coast the island in a skiff from Cape Francois to Aux Cayes, under the protection of a passport from M. Roume. This was but a poor safeguard among the enraged mulattoes, especially when the bearer of it had come to inform Rigaud that his hated rival had been made general-in-chief of the island by orders which he himself had brought from France; and that this same general-in-chief had sent the summary command that Rigaud should quit the province of the South without a moment's delay. Vincent, in the charge of such a dangerous mission, was indebted for his life solely to the letters of young Rigaud from France, who called him his second father, in consequence of his good conduct toward him while at the college of Liancourt. Rigaud read this letter of his son, and the feeling of the parent triumphed over the angry passions of the chieftain, and he exclaimed—"Take my blood: it is for your service"—and then drawing a dirk he appeared for an instant undecided whether to terminate a life which appointment and despair had made a burden to him. Those about his person rushed forward and arrested his arm, and the gloomy chieftain was at length recalled to his duties toward his brethren.

The inhabitants of Aux Cayes had been so worn down by the privations and multiplied distresses of war, that they gladly suspended their resistance, and abandoned themselves to hope, when they learned that Vincent's mission was one of peace. The means of war were thus shattered, and it only remained to soften the stubborn pride of Rigaud. Submission to a negro was deeply repugnant to his soul, but the rigid necessity of the case at last compelled him to consent to negotiations for peace. Messengers were despatched to Toussaint, and Vincent was permitted to return from Aux Cayes. Rigaud saw with despair that his influence had already suffered a fearful diminution; and when he attempted to rally his followers to the final struggle, he had the mortification to find that the blacks of the plain had not responded to his accented signal, and that a great majority of the inhabitants of his province were averse to farther warfare. Too soon respondent at this torpitude—which resulted more from



the distresses of the people than from an abandonment of their chieftain—Rigaud, with his usual decision in all cases of fortune, whether prosperous or adverse, took the resolution to embark for France; and in this he was accompanied by Petion, and many other of his best officers.

With the departure of Rigaud terminated the murderous war of the South, which had half depopulated that territory, and changed its fair surface into a wide waste of ruin. The blacks immediately became its masters, and Toussaint's generals, who had been charged to protect the whites, were immediately busy in subduing all ranks and colors to a willing or forced obedience to the black general-in-chief, from the aristocratic district of Grande Anse to the loyal municipality of Toussaint Louverture. A general amnesty was published by Toussaint—for he wished never to make a public display of cruelty; but the victims of his resentment were not long in discovering that the word of their conqueror was no guarantee of their safety. Notwithstanding the amnesty and professed oblivion of the past, such were the threatening appearances abroad, that the mulattoes who had been active in the late hostilities found it necessary to escape from the country with all possible speed; and in many places none were left behind but women, children, and those whose insignificance had saved them from incurring the resentment of the blacks. The principal agent of Toussaint's vengeance upon the victims of his distrust or hatred, was Gen. Dessalines, who was one of those ferocious beings to whom the pangs of human suffering are a delight. He traversed the country with bands of soldiers, all armed with whips, and all of any color whose attitude was not in the highest degree submissive, as well as those who had in any way incurred the resentment of Toussaint or his own, were subjected to terrible scourgings—the monster by turning his snuff-box in a particular manner indicating the number of blows. Other signals which he had were orders for arrests, or inevitable death executed upon that very spot, or sometimes deferred until the darkness of night had drawn a veil over such atrocity. Sometimes, to make his vengeance more terribly conspicuous, or to economise labor, noyades, or the drowning of people in masses, were practised at different places, in which

neither age nor sex was spared ; and it is estimated that more than ten thousand mulattoes were swept off by these wholesale executions. Toussaint, at length satisfied with these hecatombs of victims sacrificed to his secret resentment, and the numbers of which none but himself could tell, resumed the march of his ambition, in which he advanced with the strides of a giant.\*

He took under his protection, and often received into his friendship, but never with too much familiarity, those ancient colonists, who had once deemed it a base indignity for a negro to seat himself at their side. The ancient order of things was as far as possible restored, and the calendar of the French republic, which had been adopted in the colony, was now abolished. Although Toussaint saw clearly as others that he owed every thing to the doctrines and practises of the French Revolution, he had too much sagacity not to perceive that they were not calculated for his country, and he applied himself to give permanency to his power by removing every vestige of the Revolution from his government. He took into his service several subaltern officers who had been included among the emigrant colonists, and he assured his protection to those even who refused this intimate connexion with him. He redoubled his attentions to the priests and the observances of religion ; and he, who had once asserted to the French Directory that religion was but a political mask, now claimed the homage due to a life of the austere piety. He surrounded his person with a numerous guard, in the ranks of which he placed with pride several distinguished names of the ancient regime—and to mark the dignity of his rank he gave to his horse-guards the emblazonment of the trefoil—the same which had been borne by the body-guards of the kings of France. He never showed himself abroad without preserving his state—being preceded by two trumpeters, and wearing a helmet of silver adorned with red horse hair, and being enveloped in a mantle, with all other appointments of a sovereign prince. Like his great prototype, Napoleon, he treated with harshness and neglect his own followers, who had made him what he was, and he courted the friendship and support of the old proprietors, who, notwithstanding

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all his grandeur could not but view him as a successful negro rebel. Having nothing to fear from those of his own color, whose obedience toward him was the abject awe of a horde of slaves, he affected to receive with eagerness the complaints which were preferred against them—while at the same time he treated with utter neglect or indifference the complaints of negroes made against the whites. Every thing which concerned the interests of rank and property was made a special object of his care and attention, for by such conduct he was sure to gain the flattery and support of that class of the population whose friendship he most prized. This course of policy was not so unnatural as it may seem—for the very talents which had enabled Toussaint to triumph over every obstacle in his way, from being a plantation slave to the attainment of sovereign power, rendered him an unfit associate for the stupid Africans who had served as his means of attaining power, and thus he was driven irresistibly to unite himself with the whites, with whose kindred intelligence his soul felt a sympathy.

The storms of war and persecution which had afflicted the colony of St. Domingo, and the civil strife which had just been terminated, had driven from the island most of the ancient proprietors who had survived the massacre of their neighbors, and many estates had been left without a single claimant, from the entire destruction of all lineal or collateral successors. It had once been proposed to the authorities of the French republic to farm these dilapidated estates for a small rent to the black chiefs of the island. But another regulation had been adopted, which associated the laborers with the proprietors of the plantations, among both of whom the avails of agriculture were to be distributed. But it was found a work of difficulty for those who had spent their strength in laboring upon the plantations throughout the year to procure their share of the products of their own industry, and they were thus kept, through the tyranny of the black chiefs, in a state even worse than while governed by the whip of their former masters. Toussaint, without ameliorating the slavish condition of the laborer, framed a system which was sure to pour more abundant profits into the coffers of the state. The different regiments of black troops were

taught to depend upon the proceeds of the plantations for their remuneration for services in war ; and thus the interest which each regiment had in the advancement of cultivation, and the avarice joined to the authority of the negro chieftains, all contributed their influence to give immense prosperity to agriculture. Under this powerful fostering, the lands started as if by enchantment to almost the flourishing aspect of former times. The province of the North was already so restored that it was quite placed beyond the contingencies of chance for affording support to its population ; and its public revenue more than equalled the expenses of its government.

The retreat of Rigaud from the province of the South, and the termination of the mulatto dynasty in that part of the island, had furnished a greater extension of territory to Toussaint, who was as ready as he was desirous to make it subservient to the increase of his greatness. The renown of his strange exaltation and present prosperity had come to foreign countries, where great numbers of the ancient planters of the island were supporting themselves upon the miserable remains of their former opulence. They were aroused to new hope by the accounts which reached them that the negro chieftain whose sway was then absolute in St. Domingo professed himself the protector and patron of the ancient proprietors, and they forgot their former sufferings as well as their horror of black domination, in their eagerness to revisit their homes and be restored to their former happiness. They hastened to send solicitations to Toussaint for permission to return and place themselves under his protection, and their petitions were granted without a question. These letters, coming from every country, and filled with expressions of confidence in the goodness and wisdom of the black chief, contributed to inflame his pride as well as augment the real greatness of his power.

The overseer of the plantation Breda, where Toussaint had once been a slave, was now vegetating in the United States. Toussaint hearing of this, despatched an invitation for him to return, and put himself again at the head of the interests of his old master, M. Breda. The letter was urgent and in an amicable tone, and the overseer, trusting to the generosity of one who had formerly been

a favorite slave under his orders, made ready to depart forthwith. When he landed at Port au Prince he was invited the same evening to visit the court of the general-in-chief. He repaired thither, and threw himself into the arms of his benefactor. But from this familiarity Toussaint recoiled in well affected astonishment, exclaiming in a solemn tone, loud enough to be heard through the apartment—"Softly, Mr. Overseer : there is now more distance from me to you than there was formerly from you to me—betake yourself to the plantation Breda—be just and inflexible—make the negroes work, that you may add by the prosperity of your little affairs to the general prosperity of the administration of the first of blacks—the general-in-chief of St. Domingo."

These evening assemblies held by Toussaint, at which no one when invited dared to absent himself, deserve a notice in elucidating the character of this singular man. They were of two kinds—differing much from each other in regard to ceremony and exclusiveness. At the larger assemblies the visitors all attended by special invitation, and Toussaint appeared in the undress uniform of a general officer. This simple attire among the gorgeous dresses of ceremony worn by the *cortege* around him, contrasted much with the air and tone of dignity which he always studiously preserved. When he entered the great hall where the company had previously assembled, consisting of the better class of society of both sexes, all were expected to arise and remain standing. He required that a very respectful attitude should be preserved, and he was pleased when he was accosted by whites in a polished manner. Full of tact to estimate propriety of conduct in social intercourse, he exclaimed when he was satisfied with its display, "Very well—that's a good address;" and then turning to his black officers who were in waiting around him—"You other negroes," he would continue, "try to imitate it, and learn to behave yourselves properly—see what it is to be bred in France—my children will be just so." He liked to see females, particularly those who were white dressed for an occasion of ceremony, and who, contrary to the habits of his race, had their bosom entirely concealed. He has been known to drive from his presence those who were not thus modest in their at-

tire, turning his face from them in disgust, and saying that "he could not conceive how respectable women could be so wanting in decency." At another time he has been seen to throw a handkerchief over the bosom of a young negro girl, exclaiming with severity to the mother—"Modesty should be the chief study of females." During these assemblies he seldom entered into conversation with any females but the wives of the ancient planters, or those strangers who during a short sojourn in the island had attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, and he gave to all these the title of Madame. When he spoke of mulatto or black women he did not accord to them this appellation, but called them by the term *Citoyenne*. Every white female was admitted to his court as a matter of course; but the doors were shut against all others, unless they were the wives of his superior officers. After having addressed himself to each one in his tour round the hall until he had arrived at the door by which he entered, he bent forward with dignity, turning to the right and left, and waving his hand, after which he retired followed by his officers.

The lesser assemblies were public audiences, held every night, and Toussaint made his appearance here dressed as one of the former proprietors when on their plantations, with pantaloons and vest of white linen, and having his head enveloped in a Madrass handkerchief. All the inhabitants without distinction had permission to attend these audiences, and the black general was accessible to all who wished to speak to him. He took pleasure in embarrassing the blacks whom he encountered at these interviews. He was kind to those whose embarrassment proceeded from the profoundness of their respect and admiration; but when one put on an air of boldness and assurance in addressing him, he would overwhelm him with confusion by assuming an air and tone of authority, and putting to him a question from the catechism of the church, or upon the science of agriculture, which the disconcerted black could not answer. He would then add to his confusion by thus publicly reproaching him for his ignorance. In a somewhat similar manner he is said to have treated a black who came to request of him that he would appoint him a judge under his new government.

"I am very willing that you should have the office," he replied, "because I am certain that you know latin." "No general," rejoined the candidate, "I don't know Latin." "What! you wish to be made a judge, and not know Latin?" He then overwhelmed him with a flood of Latin words, which he repeated by rote from the Psalter, or some part of the Catholic church service, having no connexion whatever with the affair in question. The whites restrained their smiles because no one smiled in the presence of Toussaint Louverture, and the black retired from the presence consoled for not being made a judge, and fully persuaded that his great chief was well acquainted with Latin.

After making the tour of the hall Toussaint retired into a little antechamber which adjoined his sleeping apartment, and served him as an office for the transaction of business; and here he introduced those persons with whom he wished to spend the evening in familiar discourse. These were the principal whites of the country, and they were placed upon a footing of the easiest familiarity with this chieftain who a few moments before had worn an aspect so terrible. He spoke of France, his children, religion, his former masters, the mercy of God in making him free and bestowing upon him ability to discharge the duties of the office in which France had placed him. He spoke also of agriculture and commerce, but never of politics. He asked each one about his prosperity in business, and about his family, and seemed to take a deep interest in every thing with which he demanded to be made acquainted. With the females he conversed upon the establishment of their children—asked if the latter had taken their first communion: and if there were young persons present he took great pleasure in putting to them questions out of the catechism and gospels. When he wished to finish the sitting he arose and made a low bow, and all then retired, Toussaint accompanying them to the door, and assigning lodgings to those who were strangers in the place, and had demanded them of him. He then shut himself up with his secretaries, and continued to labor hard until a very late hour of the night.

Like many other framers of their own greatness, he sought to connect his elevation with mysterious and incre-

dible circumstances. A Capuchin had taught him to read in his youth. With an air of satisfaction he was sometimes heard to say—"From the first rise of the troubles in St. Domingo I felt myself destined to great things; and when I first received this divine annunciation I was fifty-four years old, and could not read nor write. I had a little money, and I gave it to a subaltern officer at Cape Francois, and by his instruction I was able in a few months, thank God, to sign my name passably well. The Revolution went on. I saw that the whites could not hold out because they were divided among themselves, and likely to be overwhelmed by the numbers of the blacks, and for the first time I felicitated myself for being a black. I felt that the time had come for me to begin my career, and I fled to the Spanish territory, where protection and an asylum were offered to those of my color. This enterprise however ended in nothing. I was rejoiced to see Jean Francois make himself a Spaniard when the French republic was at the height of its power, and had already proclaimed liberty to the blacks. A secret voice told me, 'since the blacks are free they will want a leader. It is I who am to be this leader—the chief foretold by Raynal.' Gladdened by this hope I returned to the service of France, and the voice of God has not deceived me."

Surrounded by a body of nearly two thousand guards, clad in splendid uniforms, and having for his own use alone many hundreds of horses, Toussaint proceeded abroad with the state and appointments of a prince. While every one around him was furnished by his order with all the means of life in profusion and splendor, he lived with an austere sobriety which bordered on abstemiousness. His iron frame was animated by a spirit goading him to continual restlessness; but master as he was of himself he was also master of all his passions and appetites. In every town throughout the country there were numbers of old negresses, his commeres or associate gossips, who entertained him during his rapid journeys, and furnished him with calalou, or creole soup, which he ate alone in his chamber. These women were also the appointed keepers of his wine, which before it was entrusted to their guardianship was all bottled and sealed in his presence. When he was absent from the towns, which occurred often,



he limited his diet to a roll of bread and a glass of water as his ration for a period of twenty-four hours, and where this could not be procured he contented himself with one or two bananas or a sweet potatoe. He never slept more than two hours at a time, and he never permitted any weariness to interfere with the accomplishment of his plans. An inextinguishable ambition preyed continually on his spirit, and permitted him no rest by day or night. Placed as he was among insurgent slaves at the commencement of the revolution—tempted and ensnared by the English and Spaniards alternately—flattered and counteracted by the French, against whose continual efforts to undermine his authority he had been obliged to sustain himself—Toussaint had been taught, by all the circumstances in which he had been placed, the necessity of cultivating his natural endowment of cunning and impenetrability. But though education did much toward giving perfection to this quality of his nature, original constitution did more. Dissimulation was the basis of his character, and it could never be foretold what conduct he would adopt in regard to any event which transpired around him. It could never be predicted of him whether he would move or stand still—whether he would go or come. It was often reported abroad that he was at Cape Francois, when he was at Port au Prince, two hundred miles distant, and at Port au Prince, when he was dispensing his authority at Aux Cayes, St. Marks or the Mole St. Nicholas.

It was his custom to set off in a carriage with the professed object of journeying to some particular point of the island; and when he had passed over several leagues of territory to quit the carriage, which continued its route under the same escort of guards, while Toussaint mounted on horseback, and followed by his officers, made rapid excursions across the country to places where he was least expected. It was upon one of these occasions that he owed his life to his singular mode of travelling. He had just quitted his carriage, when an ambuscade of mulattoes, concealed in the thickets of Boucassin, fired upon the guard, and several balls pierced the carriage, and one of them killed an old domestic negro who occupied the seat of his master. Toussaint kept a stud of

swift horses upon almost every plantation, and this establishment, which ministered to one of his greatest pleasures, furnished him also with the means of conveying himself to any point with the rapidity which any course of circumstances made necessary. These horses did not gallop, but were trained to pace with great speed; and mounted upon one of them, with a French saddle, and a pillow placed upon it, he would accomplish the distance of one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles a day, always travelling at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, and leaving behind him one after another of his suite, until none remained with him but his two trumpeters, whom he was always careful to have provided with the fleetest horses of all.\*

No person knew better than he the art of governing the people under his jurisdiction. To secure the obedience of the white proprietors to his government he flattered their pride, by bestowing upon them greater marks of his favor than fell to the lot of his own race—and he sustained their interests by securing to them their ancient property, and aiding them in its management by his moral influence over the blacks. The soldiers looked upon him as an extraordinary being, whom it would be death to disobey, and the negroes of the plantations prostrated themselves before him as to an awful divinity. All his generals trembled before him, and even the ferocious Dessalines could not look him in the face—and every body trembled before his generals. No troops were ever subjected to such severity of discipline as were the soldiers of Toussaint. The officers of every grade commanded in the ranks with pistols in their hands, and every one had the power of life and death over all those who were beneath him. The system of farming out the plantations to the military chiefs insured the obedience and good condition of the superior officers, who were by their word alone able to maintain the fidelity of their subalterns, while the condition of the soldiers themselves was nothing different from the most passive slaves. The latter were told without ceasing that they were free—and they believed it, because by a skilful arrangement of distinctions their rank in the state was a degree higher than that of

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the mere laborer. The soldier was ever pronounced in the right, if disputes occurred between his class and that of the laborers; and this acknowledged superiority of his grade, while it made the army popular, placed all the laboring negroes at the mercy of the military. When this military supremacy had become firmly established, Toussaint had no longer any fear of giving arms to the negroes of the plantations. He expended sums that are incredible in furnishing himself with arms and munitions of war. The purchases were made by himself, and the articles were taken from the merchant at Toussaint's own prices, whether the seller was willing or not to traffic on the terms that were offered. No one but himself knew where these arms were kept in depôt, as they were secretly distributed by him upon the different plantations, to be ready in any exigence to be employed upon any point. He never ceased to repeat to the people that their liberty depended upon the preservation of their means of defence—of the safety of which he assured himself by frequent examinations.

During the reviews which he held of his troops he overawed them by affected inspiration, and he was regarded by their simple natures as a Fetich, or African god. To make himself easily comprehended he spoke to his followers in parables, or made striking illustrations by referring them to things which they could easily understand. He would place in a vessel a quantity of black corn, and mix with it a small number of grains that were white. When this was prepared he would address himself to those surrounding him, saying, "You are represented by the grains of black corn, and the white men scattered among you are represented by the grains of white corn." Then shaking the vessel he would exclaim in Creole, "*Gueté blanc ci la la;*" that is, "Look at the whites here and there." The blacks gaped in wonder at the wisdom of their great chief, and were filled with complacency at such demonstration of their superior strength.

It was from the resources of his own mind more than from external circumstances or the counsels of others, that Toussaint derived all his means of attaining or preserving his power. It was in traversing the country with the rapidity of lightning, and in superintending the minut-

est concerns of his government, that he formed his plans of policy; and he was often in deep meditation upon some scheme of ambition while he was riding at a gallop, and even while he was at the altar upon his knees at prayer. The labors of the cabinet, which would seem so strange to him, were executed with order and dispatch, and hundreds of letters were often dictated by him in the compass of a day, without seeming exhaustion of body or mind. Notwithstanding the multitudinous nature of his occupations he still had not enough to consume all his time, and his moments of leisure were spent in repairing the devastations of war, and in perfecting his system of administration both civil and military. His restless ambition grew by what it fed on, and he now began to cast his thoughts beyond the narrow confines of his present power, and to look forward to new achievements, which would keep pace with the continual growth of his desires.

During the protracted hostilities against Rigaud, Toussaint had been thrown into despair of obtaining a decisive conquest over one who left nothing but a desert behind him for the occupation of his enemies, and he saw no means of concealing his mortification at being thus foiled by his opponent than to turn himself to other enterprises less desperate in their character. In consequence of this he conceived the design of seizing upon the Spanish territory, which had already been ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, but from the interposition of other events had never been given up by the Spaniards to those who had acquired it by treaty. But Toussaint could not at that time carry his projected enterprise into execution, from the unsettled state of his own power and the arrival of the new commissioners from France. Now, when he had no longer a rival or an enemy to contend with in his own government, he applied himself to his old design against the Spanish territory. He began his operations with the usual circumspection of his character. Roume, the commissioner, whom Toussaint had called about his person to enjoy the empty title of the Agent of France, was held up to the world as a shield behind which the black chief could carry on the movements of a policy altogether his own. Through this convenient medium a decree was made known, the preamble of which de-

clared, that as many cultivators and other citizens had been seized by the Spaniards, and carried off from the French territory, the people of that territory had solicited through the general-in-chief and the agent of France in St. Domingo, that possession be taken of the Spanish portion of the island, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Basle, as the only means of arresting such abuses in future.

It was then stated that Gen. Ogé had been ordered to proceed immediately to the city of Santo Domingo, to take possession of that place, and that Gen. Chanlatte had been sent to reside in the Spanish territory, as the commissioner of France, who was to exercise provisionally the functions of agent for his government, and to treat with the Spanish governor for the surrender of that territory—the stipulations of the treaty being all in favor of the old and new citizens of France. It was likewise stated that the generals Ogé and Chanlatte had been ordered to manifest toward the Spanish governor all due respect and good treatment. This proclamation, which was signed by Roume, was printed and set up in different places throughout the French and Spanish territories. Gen. Ogé having in obedience to his orders, proceeded to Santo Domingo and made known the objects of his mission, a popular commotion among the population of that city was the immediate consequence. This was increased by new rumours, until it had grown to a fearful extent; and the alcaide of the place waited on the Spanish governor, to inform him that he could not answer for the safety of Gen. Ogé if he remained a moment longer in that city. Upon being informed of this, Toussaint's agent departed quickly for the frontiers, under a strong escort for his protection. Roume, as he had not expected any resistance, was frightened at this unforeseen occurrence, and dreading the responsibility of employing force to gain possession of the territory in question, he recalled his decree, and sent orders to Gen. Chanlatte to give official information of the fact to the authorities of Santo Domingo.

When Toussaint heard of this tergiversation in his minion he could not restrain his indignation at being compelled to act upon his own responsibility after all, and

seizing upon the person of Roume, who now manifested as much firmness as he had before of compliance, he carried him as a prisoner into the interior; and without the interference of certain French deputies who had been the bearers of Toussaint's commission of commander-in-chief from the consular government, it is impossible to tell to what extremity the indignation of the black chief might have carried him on such an occasion. In consequence of this mediation, Roume, after some months of captivity was set at liberty, and restored to his former office; but he had been too much humiliated by this severity—and he quitted the country where he no longer retained the least shadow of influence or authority.

Toussaint now proceeded actively in his design, and he made his preparations with a caution and foresight to secure success, as he well knew that success would be the surest guarantee of his own safety in an enterprise which might in its consequences bring on a renewal of hostilities between France and Spain. He made his arrangements in profound secrecy, and when every thing was in readiness he wrote a letter to Don Joachim Garcia, the Spanish governor at Santo Domingo, demanding, in respectful language, some reparation for the insult lately offered to the French agent in that city, and adding that his surprise was great that such a violation of the laws of nations should have been perpetrated within his territory: but that he trusted not to remain long in suspense before ample satisfaction should be rendered for the injustice. "Reasons of state," continued the letter, "have determined the agent of the French government in St. Domingo to take possession of the Spanish territory in virtue of the treaty of Basle, by which it was ceded to the French republic by His Catholic Majesty; and in consequence of this I have sent Gen. Moyse to superintend its capitulation, and after the outrage committed upon Gen. Ogé I have thought proper to send with the present commission a force sufficient to protect him in the discharge of his duties, as well as that part of the island from all enemies of the French republic. It was hoped that the loyalty of the governor and of the Spanish inhabitants generally would be such as to enable the general-in-chief to recall most of this force, and that the governor would give the

information that all who remained in subjection to the laws of France would be protected both in person and property, and that there would be no change in the religious faith,—in pledge of which was given the inviolable word of an officer."

This document, half letter and half manifesto, was dispatched at the same time that ten thousand troops commenced their march to invade the Spanish territory. The latter penetrated in two columns:—that of the North, under Gen. Moyse, marched upon Santiago de los Caballeros, and that of the South, under Toussaint in person, proceeded along the coast by way of Azua toward the city of Santo Domingo.

These operations had all been carried on so secretly that the Spanish governor had been kept in profound ignorance of the preparations against him; and it was at the same moment that he received tidings of the invasion and that these two distant columns of Toussaint's army had already effected a junction with each other and were in full march for Santo Domingo. He hastened to reply to Toussaint's letter, that Roume at the time when he annulled his former decree had expressed to him his satisfaction of the conduct which he had displayed, and directed him to wait in every thing for what might be the will of the two European powers as to the disposal of the territory held under his authority. He denied that Gen. Ogé had received any insult during his stay at Santo Domingo, and alleged that Ogé had thanked him for the treatment he had received from himself and the authorities of Santo Domingo—a circumstance which convinced him that he could not be in error, and if so all would be set aright by their respective governments. He besought Toussaint to reconsider his designs, and to dismiss from his councils those who had advised him to such measures; and he ended by saying: "I make you a thousand protestations that it is a territory and appanage of the French republic which you are threatening without previous warning—the preservation and tranquillity of which are entrusted to me until I have orders to the contrary. May God preserve your excellency many years, most excellent 'señor.'"

It was not with compliments that Toussaint could be

turned from his purpose ; and as Don Garcia had treated him with the term Excellency, Toussaint returned the favor by calling him " Monsieur President," but he did not turn aside from the attainment of his object.

Just after his troops had entered the Spanish territory an event occurred which gave activity to his movements. Toussaint had left the army, and had crossed the island to Cape Francois, to assure himself that no evil was in preparation within his own government which would interfere with the success of the expedition which he was about to conduct into the territory of his neighbors. Just as he was upon the point of leaving Cape Francois to rejoin his army a light vessel from France had been discovered off the harbor, and Toussaint was immediately filled with anxiety lest the vengeance of Roume and the representations of the court of Madrid might have determined the consular government to forbid his enterprise. He started immediately on his journey, and left orders that whatever dispatches might arrive for him should be directed to follow. He was hardly away before the vessel entered the harbor, and an officer, with dispatches from the consular government, was in quest of horses to put himself on his track. This attempt was useless, for every thing had already been prepared to baffle the officer in this prompt discharge of his duty. He was told at every relay that Toussaint was but a short distance before him, and seemed to be waiting for him : as contrary to his usual habits he had paused in his journey a little time, during which he was constantly saying, " I expect tidings from France, and nothing but this prevents me from being at the head of my army, which at this very hour ought to be engaged." The poor officer, exhausted as he was with fatigue, was encouraged by this to set off instantly at full gallop, to receive at the next stage the same intelligence. Toussaint did in reality wait for him at every relay, but his horses being swift as reindeer made it safe for him to do this and yet keep in advance of his pursuer. He did not start until the indications grew strong of the approach of him whom he thus amused himself with outstripping ; and after a few stages passed over in this manner he kept on without stopping until he arrived at the army.

The Spaniards made but little resistance to their invad-



ers. A few ambuscades among the mountain defiles of Cibao, and a little skirmishing behind the rivers Guayavin and Amina, and in the department of the Ozama, behind the river Nisao, were all the efforts made to arrest the advance of the victorious blacks. They had no difficulty in driving the Spaniards from all these positions, as they overwhelmed them with numbers, and terror had already paralyzed all energy in the ranks of the enemy before Toussaint had come up. The black general-in-chief ordered detachments to disperse the resistance which was made: but when this had been effected he recalled his forces, to prevent as much as possible all bloodshed in his march. These orders, and the precipitate flight of the Spaniards, saved almost all effusion of blood, and not more than one hundred men were slain during the whole march.

The success of the campaign justified the expectations of Toussaint, for Don Garcia, the Spanish governor, seeing all his posts carried one after another, and the very seat of his government invaded, considered himself happy at last to be permitted to yield a peaceable submission to the demands of Toussaint, who took possession of the territory, assuring the inhabitants of oblivion of the past and protection in future. After a series of negotiations which looked extremely like capitulation, though both sides were careful not to name the word, on the 27th of January, 1800, the flag of Spain was taken down at Santo Domingo, under a salute of twenty-one guns, and that of France was hoisted in its place under another salute of twenty-two. Just at this moment the officer bearing dispatches from Cape Francois arrived at Santo Domingo, and delivered orders from the consular government which countermanded the expedition against the Spanish territory. Toussaint affected great regret that he had not received sooner these commands of the French government, but he added that it was now too late.

The army of blacks entered Santo Domingo in a sort of triumph. Their chief was met by the Spanish governor and the alcaide of the town, who, according to an ancient Spanish usage, invited him to make oath in the name of the Holy Trinity that he would govern with wisdom that part of the island of which he had just taken possession. Toussaint, whose tact and self-possession never forsook

him, made his refusal as obliging as possible, assuring them that he was not required to govern as a Spanish officer who had come to relieve Don Garcia, but in the name and for the interests of the French republic; "but I swear," added he, "in the name of the God who now hears me, to forget all that is past, and to make it the aim of all my cares and exertions to render happy and contented the Spanish population who have now become French." After this assurance the Spanish governor was satisfied; and with a thousand protestations of fidelity he delivered up the keys of the city. Toussaint covered them with his hand, saying "I accept them in the name of the French republic," and then turning himself toward the crowd of people around him, he added, "let us now go and thank the Author of all things for having crowned with such success an enterprise founded on the faith of treaties and the laws of the republic." Followed by the governor and all the Spanish authorities he entered the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was chanted in a manner the most pompous.

The whole island was now nominally under the French republic, but in reality governed absolutely by Toussaint. The dominion of Spain was at an end in St. Domingo, and almost all the large Spanish planters gathered together their effects and left the island. Great numbers sailed for Cuba—others for the Spanish colonies upon the continent of America,—and none of the ancient white population were soon after to be found in the Spanish territory, except the lower class of citizens in the towns and the herdsmen of the country. Don Joachim Garcia, finding his situation among the new authorities irksome and equivocal, soon departed for the Spanish Main, with a large retinue of Spanish colonists, among whom were great numbers of ecclesiastics.

The mulatto general Chanlatte, fearful that the privileges of his office as the agent of the French republic in the Spanish territory might not be sufficient to protect him from Toussaint's ambition, now that he had nothing to restrain him from the full accomplishment of whatever he desired, embarked in haste and quitted the island. From the Bay of Samana to Cape Tiburon every thing was now under the dominion of Toussaint; and with

nothing more to gain he now occupied his time in enjoying the triumphs of his success. He journeyed in state from town to town throughout the Spanish territory, and his approach was announced every where by salutes of artillery and the ringing of bells. The clergy came out barefoot to meet him, and received him in procession under the dais, while Toussaint, by treating them graciously and offering them his protection, added immensely to the firmness of his own power in that part of the island. The influence of the priesthood exerted in his favor among so bigotted a race, produced results which were immediate; and within a few days from the time when his power had been extended to that part of the island his control over the Spaniards was in all respects equal to that over the blacks.

The union of all parts of the island under the same government gave an increase to its prosperity, which manifested itself by immediate results. The cultivators of the French part were furnished with a ready supply of horses and mules for purposes of agriculture, and the Spaniards drew immense benefits from the greater extension of internal commerce and the easier and more profitable sale of their horses and cattle. Extensive roads were opened, through the energy and activity of Toussaint's administration, as great thoroughfares of communication between the distant points of the island; and one of these, which extended from the city of Santo Domingo to Laxavon, was not less than two hundred and forty miles in extent. The use of carriages had been hitherto unknown in most parts of the Spanish territory—and when introduced, as they were now, it was alone through the enterprise and luxury of negroes who but a few years before had been slaves. The invasion of the blacks, which had excited so much alarm among the Spaniards, and had been deemed a disaster to be prevented at every sacrifice, so far from having proved a calamity, seemed to have added immense benefits to the neglected lands and wandering population of that territory, and given every thing an impulse of prosperity which seemed about to revive the epoch of its ancient magnificence.

Toussaint now reigned as a sovereign prince in his own independent empire, as his acknowledgement of the French

republic was in name only ; and in all things pertaining to his authority he was without rivalship or sovereignty derived from any other power. It has been stated that persuasions were offered him at this time by the commissioner Raimond to seize the government of the island to himself and his successors, as Bonaparte had just before done in France. A speech made by Toussaint to Raimond, just before the departure of the latter to France, seems to demonstrate that Toussaint had some thoughts at this epoch of giving a constitution to his country. "I have taken my flight," said he, "in the region of eagles, and I must be cautious in my approaches to the earth. I must alight upon a rock, and this rock ought to be a form of constitutional government, which shall secure power to myself so long as I shall be among men." The French population of the country attempted to dissuade him from seizing upon the sovereignty of the island, as it would follow as a consequence of this step that St. Domingo would become a common market for all nations, to the destruction of that exclusive trade which France still enjoyed in its ports. Toussaint always answered them : "I am the Bonaparte of St. Domingo, and the country cannot exist without me."\*

Having at length prepared all his arrangements, and set every thing in readiness for the accomplishment of the plans which he had in meditation, he rid himself, under different pretexts, of all who might interfere with his measures, and gathered together an assembly of his warmest partisans. After a short deliberation, and at a moment when it was the least expected, this assembly came in a body to present the project of the constitution, which gave to Toussaint Louverture all power in the state, and made him president for life, with the right of appointing his successor and nominating to all offices.

M. Vincent was almost the only Frenchman who still retained the liberty of speaking his mind freely to Toussaint, and he used this privilege upon the present occasion to warn the black dictator of the dangers that would surely follow in case of his assenting to a frame of government which must place him in an attitude of defiance toward France. Toussaint answered these representa-

\* Lacroix.

tions by saying that "the period had passed for him to descend from his gigantic height of power, and that he was urged on by a strong but secret impulse within him, which dated its commencement from the insinuations of foreign policy, that had taken place at a former epoch." But the importunities of Vincent were not to be turned from their object by this evasion, and Toussaint determined to rid himself of such a troublesome counsellor, who was so obstinate in opposing his designs. He summoned Vincent into his presence, and bluntly exclaimed, "You desire to quit, and I am going to furnish you with an occasion. I want you to carry to France the constitution against which you disclaim so much; and if you refuse I will send it to France by way of the United States or a neutral vessel. You love St. Domingo much, but you love France more, and for this reason I have made choice of you for this purpose." When Toussaint stated, "you might have been on your way already if the constitution had been printed"—"How!" exclaimed Vincent, "do you print a constitution? Do you intend sending it in packages, as you would merchandize to Havana or America? This is bold conduct. Your constitution should be sent to France in manuscript, signed by all the electors." "You are right," replied Toussaint, "and if you had not instructed me better I should have already sent it away." Vincent suggested that Raimond, who was then on the eve of his departure, would carry the constitution to France with him; and added, "Toussaint loves France and all Frenchmen. He cannot for a long time retain the position he occupies without European bayonets." Toussaint made him repeat the latter sentence. He was very anxious to preserve the good will of Bonaparte, and Vincent told him that his constitution was a manifesto directed against France. Toussaint quickly added, with deep excitement, "That he knew his ruin had been sworn, and that his children would never enjoy the little which he had gathered for them; but he was not yet actually the prey of his enemies." Having given utterance to his feelings in this manner, he abruptly left the presence of the astonished French deputy—sprung upon his horse, which stood ready at a back entrance, and dashed at full speed through

one hundred persons who were waiting for him among his guards; and the latter, though accustomed to his eccentric movements, were themselves astonished at this strange behavior in their chieftain.

But a short time had elapsed after this interview, which had terminated in so singular a manner, when M. Vincent received a packet, together with a note accompanying it, desiring that he would take charge of the packet, wishing him a good voyage to France, and signed Toussaint Louverture. This was a summary method of ejecting M. Vincent from the island, but the French commissioner was of opinion that he had done every thing which he could do to preserve the country as a colony of France, and he embarked for France, where he arrived just as the peace of Amiens had given a moment of tranquillity to the contending nations of Europe.

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## CHAPTER II.

Project of Napoleon to subdue St. Domingo—Prosperity of the island under the administration of Toussaint—His finances—The black generals Moyse and Dessalines—Negro rebellion in the plain of Cape Francois—Execution of Moyse and others—Toussaint's immense ascendancy over his race—His alarm and anxiety at the preparations going on in France—His proclamation to the blacks—Negotiations with the governor of Jamaica—Bonaparte resolves on an expedition against St. Domingo—Placed under the orders of Gen. Leclerc—Sailing of the fleet—Entrance of the French into Cape Francois—Burning of that town by Christophe—Horrors of the time—Conquest of Port au Prince by the French—Operations of the French general Boudet against Dessalines—Rigaud in the South—Gen. Kerverseau seizes upon Santo Domingo.

WHEN the contentions of Europe had been hushed for a time by the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte occupied his first leisure in preparing an expedition against St. Domingo, with the double design of employing his armies and of subduing to France a possession so valuable amidst her resources. The ruined colonists, who had every thing to hope and nothing farther to risk from such a

measure, were united in their solicitations for its immediate execution ; but M. Vincent, with more enlarged as well as less interested opinions, wearied himself in attempts to give the First Consul a picture of the dangers to be incurred by employing force against the blacks of the island, in the peculiar circumstances in which chance had placed them. He fearlessly asserted that even the conquerors of Europe could reap no laurels in a service under the destructive climate of St. Domingo, but that the demon of pestilence would sweep off in masses those even who might escape the guerilla warfare and continual harassment to which they would be subjected by the blacks. To leave nothing undone, he suggested his fears that the English might interpose to prevent an expedition which was to be directed against a chieftain whose friendship and alliance it had ever been the design of their policy to secure.

All these representations were of no avail, for Bonaparte had long since determined upon measures to restore to France a colony which had once been so valuable, and to subdue a negro chief whose impudence had burlesqued his own character, by its leading him to compare himself with the head of the French republic. As to the interference of England, he replied to Vincent, " I will notify her that in case she refuses her consent to the expedition I shall proceed immediately to send unlimited power to Toussaint, and recognise him independent in his government." This was intended to be decisive, but M. Vincent was obdurate, and still continued to remonstrate against the policy of an expedition, and he was in consequence banished to the island of Elba, that his opinions and zeal might not operate against the plans of the First Consul.

Even after the departure of M. Vincent from St. Domingo Toussaint was not left from unpalatable advisers, for Christophe, one of his generals, dared the risk of expressing to him an opinion, that the new constitution was a criminal infringement upon the rights of the blacks. Toussaint deigned to remonstrate with this boldness in his inferior officer, assuring him that it was not ambition which urged him to desire to be recognised as governor of the island for life, but it was the wish to secure the

future liberty of his race, to whom any farther revolution would be a calamity, and who would be permanently free if they could succeed in maintaining a permanent government in the country. Toussaint thus acted upon the hopes and desires of those under his rule, by assertions made partly in sincerity but mostly for purposes of policy; and while all around him were excited beyond the standard of sobriety, he alone was calm and judicious in his opinions,—weighing the expectations as well as the anxieties of the future, in the balance of wisdom and political foresight.

Meantime the prosperity of his administration suffered no abatement, and the obedience and subjection of the blacks were not only complete but enthusiastic, for they served with devotion a chief whom they considered the tutelar genius of their race. But his government was not only founded upon the power of opinion, but sustained also, in all necessary cases, by the employment of physical force; and his authority was as absolute as his genius was exhaustless in resources and despotic in its nature.

Ships from all nations were now thronging to the ports of the island under the flag of the United States. The revenues of the government under a wise administration afforded an amount which, notwithstanding the diminished resources of the country and its boundless expenditures, were almost sufficient for all the wants of the state. Agriculture and commerce rivaled each other in pouring wealth into the country, and peace and industry ministered to the advancement of both. According to the published account of the administrator of the finances, the expenses of the government for the year 1800 amounted to thirty-five millions, while the receipts for the same year were but little more than fifteen millions. It has been asserted that this account, so far from being true is the very reverse of truth, as a variety of motives had their influence upon Toussaint to persuade him to the policy of imposing a false statement upon the world. The principal of these were, that he wished to demonstrate to the government of France that the island of St. Domingo was a charge instead of a source of income, and that he was in this manner furnished with an excuse to refuse any augmentation of pay to his officers, who were apt to be



exorbitant in their expectations. It has been thought also that he was desirous to make arrangements, so that a solid excuse might be afforded for an additional tax upon luxuries and real estate, to furnish the amount of fifteen millions, which was professedly to be devoted to the object of making a balance between the receipts and expenditures but in reality to be hoarded up for the extraordinary exigencies which he foresaw might take place in his future career. In proof of these opinions, certain expressions used incidentally by the black chief have been adduced. "I always hear Europeans," said he, "spoken of with a respect proportioned to the wealth they possess. The English are in high esteem, because they have much—I wish myself to be respected, and to secure this object I am economical." Among the multitude of maxims which Toussaint was ever bringing forward to justify his conduct, there was another upon economy, which alleged that "money was an evil spirit, which vanishes whenever it is touched, and many precautions are requisite before opening the iron chest."

But with all these reasons, which are in the main substantial and founded upon facts which are evident, it may nevertheless be doubted if the public income at this epoch was such as has been stated. That the receipts and expenditures did in reality bear a nearer equality than was laid down by the minister of finances there seems, however, to be but little doubt: but that there remained a surplus at the disposal of Toussaint, after the vast expenditures of his government had been liquidated, there must be much reason to dispute.

Although the plantations were partially restored, and placed in a condition of comparative productiveness, they still bore no relation in their present state to the magnificence and fertility of former times, as those fields and extensive tracts which had once poured a tide of wealth into the coffers of their owners were now changed to a wilderness of underwood or wild savanna; and many of those plantations which had been reclaimed from their desolation were, from the inefficiency with which they were cultivated, not more than sufficient for the support of the cultivator. Toussaint drew more resources from the spoils of victory, by plunder and confiscation, than

from the labors of agriculture or the enterprises of commerce: but these were gradually failing, and besides this were not productive in their nature. If it is assumed that the public receipts during his administration were in the proportion of one third to those of former times, the estimate will not fall greatly below the truth. It is impossible to make any perfect approximation to the actual reality, for dissimulation and concealment were beyond all doubt carried on in the fiscal as well as other branches of Toussaint's government.

Upon the occasion of Toussaint's elevation to the government for life many promotions were made by his order of those who had been his favorite officers or his warmest partisans. The chief of brigade, Henry Christophe, whose advancement from the ranks had been the consequence of merit alone, and whose modesty at this time was such that he suffered himself to be solicited by his friends to accept the grade of a general officer, was made commander of the North, and sent to take the command at Cape Francois. The pure blacks were those most favored with promotion in the army, and after them came the class of mulattoes, while the place of acting as secretaries and business agents to the different black chiefs was an object within the attainment of the whites. The seat of government was alternately at Port au Prince and Cape Francois, according as either of those towns happened to afford a temporary sojourn to Toussaint, whose palaces in these places were fitted up in a style of the utmost sumptuousness. The army was divided into three divisions. The first was called that of the North, and placed under the command of Gen. Moyse, who held his head quarters at Cape Francois: the second was commanded by Dessalines, and was in occupation of the South; and the third was stationed in the eastern or Spanish part of the island, and was commanded by the mulatto general Clervaux, who had served in the war against Rigaud, and whom Toussaint treated with an outward appearance of confidence, but inwardly distrusted.

Toussaint's two favorite officers were Moyse and Dessalines, whom he had appointed inspectors general of agriculture within the respective districts under their command. These two chiefs, of an ardent and hasty tem-

perament by nature, were in their intercourse and conduct tyrannical and cruel in the extreme. Dessalines in particular possessed the temper of a sullen and ferocious savage, and he did by physical violence what Toussaint effected by moral influence alone. He was severe and inexorable to his soldiers, and in his rounds of duty upon the plantations he was lavish of chastisements, which he inflicted by the blows of a cane upon the heads of the negroes. If the chief laborer among a gang of negroes excused himself to Dessalines for the neglected condition of the field which had been placed under his care, by ascribing it to the general idleness of those under his control, he was immediately ordered to designate one of the negroes, to be hung as an example to the rest. But if any one was particularized as mutinous, or habitually idle, he was condemned by this unfeeling chieftain to be buried alive, and all his fellow laborers were commanded to be present, in order to witness the sufferings of the victim. "One can easily conceive," says Lacroix, "that by means like these ten of the new citizens who were nominally free, but subjected to such inexorable authority as that of Gen. Dessalines, might be made to do more work, and add more to agriculture than twenty of the same individuals when slaves, as in former times."

Toussaint, whose minutest measures were directed to his own aggrandizement, and who knew how to make even the violence and ferocity of those under his command to contribute to the success of his administration, made a grant to Dessalines of thirty-two sugar plantations, to be held on a yearly rent; and in the hands of this tyrannical chief they were forced forward so as to produce a yearly income of a hundred thousand francs each. Notwithstanding their immense expenditures in building for themselves residences, and in purchasing appointments and equipage on a scale of the utmost sumptuousness, these black chiefs, who were engaged as farmers general, needed but two or three years to become the richest private individuals in the world. Whether Gen. Moyse was less cruel than Dessalines, or the blacks of the North were less submissive to labor than those of the other parts of the island, the produce of that region was much less under his authority than that of the South under the stern rule

of his associate chief. Toussaint saw this unproductiveness in the most fertile territory of his government, and he reproached his nephew, Gen. Moyse, for his negligence in agriculture. The reply of Gen. Moyse manifests his character and wishes: "Whatever my aged uncle may do, I cannot yet resolve to become the executioner of my race. It is always in the name of France that your reprimands are given, but to labor for France is to labor for the interests of whites, and I shall never love them until they give me back the eye I have lost in battle."

A company of merchants at this time offered Moyse twenty thousand dollars a month as a rent for the plantations which he had at his disposal. Toussaint, dissatisfied to see these speculators about to deprive his nephew of such an immense source of wealth, threatened him with his displeasure if he persevered. Moyse, grown presumptuous from long prosperity, and feeling himself safe, from his alliance in blood and color with the general-in-chief, did not suspend his negotiations for this menace of his uncle, and he drew down upon himself a feeling of indignant suspicion in consequence. While this distrust and irritation were rankling in the bosom of Toussaint, the negroes of the North, whom long license had given a hatred of labor, began to manifest an appearance of insubordination. They collected in numbers at Limbé, and took possession of the country, cutting the throats of the overseers who had been appointed to superintend their labors, and of other whites who were so unfortunate as to fall into their power. The insurrection soon spread to Cape Francois, and was followed by the murder of three hundred whites who were inhabitants of that town: but as the revolt was not extensive, and had arisen rather from mere lawlessness and dislike to labor than from causes that were more general in their agency, it was readily checked by the presence of Toussaint, at whose approach the rebels fled in terror to their different employments. They excused themselves for their crime, by declaring that they had taken arms to save themselves from slavery to the whites, to whom their chiefs, Christophe and Dessalines, had delivered them against the wishes of Gen. Moyse, who had coöperated with them in their enterprise. Toussaint was easy to believe in the

existence among his race at this time of a spirit of distrust directed toward the whites, when rumors were spreading from Europe that the peace then existing in that quarter was about to be expended in an attempt to subdue the blacks of St. Domingo. But he had already become estranged from his nephew, and he was not averse to listen to complaints against him; particularly when he was charged with a design to disturb the tranquillity of the island by putting himself at the head of a movement thought to have an ambitious tendency, though it was but an effort to escape from labor and engage in scenes of disorder and pillage. Gen. Moyse was delivered over to a court martial, and he was almost immediately condemned to be shot for negligence of his duty.

Toussaint sought by this sacrifice of his relative to prove to France the inflexibility of his mind, and his solicitude to protect its interests in the island from all disorders incident to its new condition. For this end, as well as to make a display of his power over the blacks, he went from place to place to hold solemn trials of those accused of participation in the late disorder. All these were conducted in such a way as to give publicity to his justice, and make terrible examples of punishment, to overawe the survivors. At the towns of Cape Francois, Fort Dauphin and Limbé he assembled the whole population, and the troops in garrison were ordered under arms. Those who had been agents or accomplices in the late transaction were already known to him, and he ordered out one by one those who had been selected as objects of his justice, and commanded that they should be shot in his presence. The victims he had designated did not hazard a murmur. After bowing submissively to their dreaded chief, they joined hands and marched out with contrition and sadness to meet the death that was prepared for them. Those very negroes who had so lately dared every resistance from their enemies, and whose fierceness was so uncontrollable when aroused in their work of insurrection, now submitted themselves to be decimated and delivered over to summary death by a single man who stood before them unarmed. A being of this tremendous moral energy was not to be subjected to the interests of France by the mere employment of a succession of commissioners

and government agents, designed to hold his usurpations in salutary control. He knew better than others how far his real authority extended, and he was not to be driven from the absolute and despotic command of two hundred thousand blacks by labored proclamations, and the machinery of a policy the greatest weapon of which was the pen.

Bonaparte had never condescended to answer any of Toussaint's letters to him, one of which bore for its superscription, "the first of blacks to the first of whites." This stubborn silence of the First Consul affected him deeply. He was humiliated at the neglect, as well as fearful that this prolonged silence was ominous of evil consequences to himself. He has even been known to shed tears when discoursing upon a subject so near his heart. "Bonaparte is wrong," he would exclaim, "not to write to me. He must have listened to my enemies, for unless he had he would not thus refuse me his consideration—me who have rendered more service to France than any other general. The Spanish and English governments treat with more respect those generals who have distinguished themselves by services of the first order."

The self-estimation of Toussaint had increased with his greatness, and this circumstance augmented his vexation whenever he was treated without due consideration by those whose official standing he valued. He was now less attentive to the mere drudgery of cabinet labor, and he often passed to his secretaries documents of a public character which he had received, saying to them, "it is not worth my trouble—read it yourselves." In the midst of one of his drawing room circles at Port au Prince, when he recognized upon a letter which was brought to him the seal of the minister of marine, he cast it aside without reading it, saying in a sarcastic tone to those with whom he was engaged in conversation, "go on—that is nothing—minister—valet!"

While his pretensions were thus exalted he watched with a feverish anxiety the political horizon of Europe, and he found little in the aspect of things calculated to soothe him into peace. His fears had been awakened for the permanence of his power by the occurrence of the peace of Amiens, which had given tranquillity to

France, and allowed leisure to the powerful genius who then guided her destiny to turn his thoughts to the possessions of France in the West Indies. Public discussions upon colonial interests came next to disquiet him; and among the rest the report of the counsellor of state, Thibaudeau, which recommended the maintenance of slavery in Martinique and Guadaloupe, and asserted, to the terror of Toussaint, that the adoption of strong measures would subdue every thing to France in St. Domingo.

Toussaint had sufficient forecast to perceive the approach of that storm which was slowly and secretly gathering to overwhelm him, and he was not idle in commencing his preparations to save himself from its fury. On the 18th of December, 1800, a proclamation was issued, apparently to calm the public mind and to recommend submission in all things to whatever might be the will of France; but it contained a closing paragraph which seemed to breathe another spirit, in an appeal to the soldiers under his command, which manifested that if war should be decided on by the mother country to subdue the colony, the indomitable soul of Toussaint would do every thing to make it perpetual. "A well taught child," argues this subtle casuist, "will always preserve submission and obedience toward his parent; but in case that parent becomes so unnatural as to meditate the destruction of the child, the latter should place its vengeance in the dispensations of heaven. If I am to die I will die as a brave soldier and as a man of honor. I fear nobody."

In order to sustain his conscious usurpations against the attempts of France, whose government he had so often insulted and even braved in defiance, Toussaint had for some time been engaged in seeking the support of some other power to sustain him in those exigencies which his political sagacity taught him were threatening in the future. He had already signed a treaty with Gen. Nugent, the governor of Jamaica, which was an alliance offensive and defensive, for the support of Toussaint's government against all attacks made against it, either by foreign or domestic enemies; and these stipulations were compensated to the English governor by the grant of superior privileges to the commerce of Great Britain over all other nations. But just as these negotiations were about to be

closed, and a powerful neighbor about to be secured as an ally of the black chief, the tidings of the peace of Amiens came to annihilate all the hopes of the latter, so far as regarded the support of the English. The English governor requested Toussaint's emissaries, who had been residing in Jamaica for two months, to quit that island as soon as possible, and on his part he was equally expeditious in recalling his agent who had been at Cape Francois. Toussaint was enraged at this sudden change of humor on the part of his late ally, and he accused the English governor of violating his word, and perfidiously betraying him to his enemies in France. Besides this, his regret was as great as his indignation at the unsuccessful termination of an overture which had still farther compromised his fidelity to the French republic.

A distinguished Creole, who had an interview with him at this time to procure a passport to France, has given an account of the manner in which his request was received by Toussaint. He ran immediately to all the doors of the apartment, to make sure that no listener could be within reach of his voice, and then returning and fixing his eyes in a long and anxious gaze upon the Frenchman, he at length addressed him, and drew forth the following colloquy: "Wherefore do you wish to depart? I love and respect you." "Because," was the reply, "I am a white man, and I witnessed last night the inauspicious irritability of a black chief, who has all power in his hands, and because for some time past you have been no longer the protector of whites, as you have already ordered the transportation of many of them solely for rejoicing at the expected arrival of European forces at St. Domingo." Toussaint answered quickly—"Yes, but they were imprudent—they were foolish to rejoice at such a prospect, when it is every where known that this expedition is intended to destroy me—to destroy the whites of the island—to destroy the colony itself. They accuse me in France of seeking to become independent, and they are taking arms against me—against me, who rejected the propositions of Gen. Maitland, the officer who promised to secure my independence by the powerful protection of Great Britain; and besides this, I ever refused to listen to those suggestions which Santhonax continued without ceasing



to make to me. Since you wish to go to France you have my consent, but let your voyage be made useful to the colony. I will send letters by you to the First Consul, and pray him to listen to your advice. Let him understand Toussaint; tell him of the prosperous condition of the colony, and of my labors in its restoration, by which I wished to be judged. Twenty times have I written to Bonaparte to request him to send civil commissioners to investigate the condition of the colony, and concert with me measures to secure its future prosperity. I have besought him to send out the ancient planters and all the whites of the island who are now abroad, in order that the ancient order of things may be fully restored and a new administration constructed. All this have I written, and he has never deigned to answer me. All at once he profits by a moment of peace—of the occurrence of which he has not condescended to inform me, but for the tidings of which I am indebted to English channels—to direct against me a formidable expedition, the ranks of which are crowded with my personal enemies—those dangerous men of whom I have purged the colony. More than this—he refuses me my children, and seems desirous to make them hostages, as if I had not already given instances enough of my fidelity to France. Prepare yourself to set out immediately, for time presses. Return to me within twenty-four hours, and my dispatches will be prepared; you shall read them in my presence, and they will serve you instead of instructions. I fervently hope that both you and these dispatches may arrive in time to change the determinations of the First Consul, and make him comprehend that in losing me he will lose the obedience of all the blacks—that he will not only lose St. Domingo but all the West India colonies: for if Bonaparte is the first man in France, Toussaint Louverture is the first man in the Archipelago of the Antilles.” After a moment’s pause he continued, in a tone of firmness, “I am about entering into an arrangement with the American and English merchants to procure for myself a force of twenty thousand blacks from Africa; but I have no other end in the measure than to make them soldiers of France. I know the perfidy of the English, and I feel no gratitude toward them for the information they have

sent me of the intended expedition against St. Domingo. I never believe them—never will I arm myself in league with them. I keep myself armed for the single purpose of preserving the liberty of my race—a liberty which France has already recognised, and she has no longer the right to make us slaves again. Our liberty no longer rests with her—it is ours—and we will defend it or perish." Having received his dispatches the Frenchman hastened to depart; but he was shipwrecked and all his papers lost, and his mission availed nothing in allaying the storm of war that was now gathering thick and menacing, to overwhelm the exorbitant power of Toussaint.

From the moment when the treaty of Amiens had given peace to France, and thrown upon the hands of the First Consul all the armies of the republic, so unfitted by a long course of conquest and military disorder for the restraints of civil society, the ports and dockyards of France became filled with bustle and activity, in making preparations for an armament, the destination of which was far from being doubtful. Not to mention the distrustful estimation in which Bonaparte held the troops of Moreau, whose removal out of the way of his ambition he deemed so necessary to the safety of his power, the First Consul, every where successful in his operations for the aggrandizement of France among her neighbors of Europe, looked upon the rich colony of St. Domingo, under the supreme rule of a revolted slave, as a blemish upon the fair picture of his greatness which was to be removed at every cost. That he felt jealous of Toussaint is contradicted by every proud quality of his nature, as well as by every evidence of his own power and greatness found in such abundance around him. He regarded St. Domingo as a valuable heritage of France, wrested for a time from her possession by a successful rebellion, but an appanage of her dominions which it was his duty as well as glory to restore to its ancient condition. So far from dreading the utmost efforts which Toussaint could put forth against him, he committed the error in policy of undervaluing the genius and resources of this negro chieftain. He calculated his arrangements from assumptions which he derived from the stores of his own energy, and adapted them rather to the resources of his own mighty genius

than to the more mediocre talents of those to whose conduct he was about to entrust the expedition. He superintended the details of every preparation; and working in his cabinet with the former functionaries of St. Domingo, he arranged every thing that was deemed necessary to give success to the enterprise. He prescribed the minutest movements of the expedition with the bold confidence of a general accustomed to command the elements and master fortune. The experienced admiral who was then minister of marine was not even consulted to give directions upon the nautical details of the expedition—and it was only required of him to copy the instructions which had already received the signature of the First Consul.

All those who were interested in the colony were filled with exultation at the measure; their enthusiasm being founded upon a misguided knowledge of the difficulties in the way of its final success. All thought the blacks such at that moment as they had been when a horde of insurgent slaves, without reflecting that ten years of revolution had been to them ten centuries of civil existence. It was not in vain that the chief who now ruled their destiny had been engaged for years in the labors of public policy—that he had matured his natural cunning by long study in the school of worldly experience; for he fully understood his peculiar situation, and knew that he had more to dread from the consequences of peace than the chances of war. In calculating upon an easy conquest of the island the French calculated aright, for the resources of Toussaint were not sufficient to withstand so formidable an armament; but when they thought their conquest would be durable, and that negroes who had roamed so long in wildness and unchecked license could be made to return in easy subjection to their former labors; they committed an error that was fatal.

The negotiations carried on between the cabinet of St. Cloud and the other powers of Europe had already noised abroad the object of the expedition, the preparations for which were filling so many ports of France with bustle and activity; and this intelligence produced a lively sensation in the ranks of the amis des noirs, whose opinions, though less active than formerly, were still in exist-

ence and controlling the conduct of many; and this had its agency in animating the hopes of Toussaint, who still hoped to avert by some unknown means the disasters that were now threatening his government.

When every thing was in readiness the fleets, proceeding from the ports of Brest, L'Orient and Rochefort, made their rendezvous in the gulf of Gascony, and the vessels of the expedition were found to consist of twenty-six ships of war and more than the same number of transports. The land forces amounted to twenty-five thousand men, all well furnished for the service upon which they were about to embark, and terrible for their numbers alone, but still more terrible in the eyes of their enemies from their being the same legions who had returned in triumph from the Rhine, the Alps and the Nile. Gen. Leclerc, the brother-in-law of the First Consul, had been appointed commander-in-chief, and he was assisted in the duties of his command by a host of generals whose bravery, military science or experience within the tropics were expected to give effectiveness to the expedition. One division of the army was under the orders of Gen. Rochambeau, a wealthy proprietor of St. Domingo, whose acquaintance with the country and long military service in the West Indies it was deemed would furnish an immensity of resources in the military operations of the armament. The fleet was placed under the orders of Adm. Villaret Joyeuse, who had served in the armies of the king before the epoch of the revolution. In order to participate in the triumphs which were to follow, Madame Leclerc was urged aboard the vessel of her husband, and dispatched with the forces.

This formidable armament sailed from France on the 14th of December, 1801, and arrived at the bay of Samana, in the eastern extremity of St. Domingo on the 28th of the following month. Toussaint was soon informed by his lookouts of its arrival, and he came at full speed to reconnoitre it from the heights around the shore. He had never before seen so vast a fleet, and he was overwhelmed with anxiety and consternation at the tremendous preparations which France had made to avenge herself for his daring assumptions of power against her will. In his momentary discouragement he abandoned himself to de-

spair, and exclaimed to those around him, "We must perish—all France has come to St. Domingo. They have been deceived, and they come here for vengeance, and to reduce us to servitude." He did not, however, abandon all hope in his terror and calmly await the blow which was to crush him at once; but such a vast disproportion as that which he saw between his own feeble resources and the immense armament and veteran troops of his enemies, depressed his energies and threw into his movements an uncertainty and irresolution which was evident to all. He temporized and held himself in long suspense before his usual decisiveness of character returned to him. His forces during this time, instead of being concentrated on those points which were most exposed, were left scattered over the island in their various posts, and his generals received no instructions from their chief to prepare themselves for an open and simultaneous resistance. The expedition of Leclerc had been fitted out with such a profusion of means of warfare that nothing which Toussaint could array against it seemed capable of resisting it for a moment. The black army of St. Domingo consisted of twenty thousand men, among whom there was a feeble remnant of two hundred and fifty whites—the sole survivors of numerous armies of their countrymen—and Toussaint had kept them organized in his ranks as if to demonstrate by them the murderous influence of the climate upon European troops.

The French commander-in-chief dispatched from Samana two frigates with five hundred men, to proceed to Santo Domingo under the orders of Gen. Kerverseau, to whom it was entrusted to coöperate with the rest of the army by subjugating that city to the arms of France. The main fleet then sailed from Samana to commence the real operations of the campaign. The forces were divided into three divisions. The first, which was placed under the command of Gen. Rochambeau, received orders to land at Fort Dauphin; the second, under Gen. Boudet, was ordered to make its descent at Port au Prince, and the third, under Gen. Hardy, was destined to effect a landing at Cape Francois. Christophe, who held the latter town for Toussaint, while acting from his own individual impulse manifested a disposition to receive the

French forces with open arms. The streets of the town were swept, the barracks cleansed, and the citizens and black troops in the place all gave themselves up to rejoicing. The arrival of Toussaint put a stop to these demonstrations of amity.

On the following day Lebrun, aid-de-camp to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, threw himself into a boat which was rowed by some blacks who were swarming around the ships, and landed at Fort Picolet, a point of the harbor. Here he found Christophe, who demanded of him the delivery of whatever dispatches he was the bearer. The French officer refused, alleging in excuse that he had received express orders to the contrary, and that he was to place his dispatches in the hands of Toussaint in person. Christophe replied—"He is not here, but proceed with me into the town, and we will see." A horse was furnished immediately to Lebrun, and he placed himself by the side of the black general, who was surrounded by a numerous retinue, none of whom spoke to the French aid-de-camp, and whose deportment toward him was cold and suspicious. Christophe himself was thoughtful, and the whites around appeared to the French officer to wear an air of complacency if not exultation. Lebrun noticed the same appearances in the streets of the town, and he was struck with its aspect of prosperity and opulence. He was conducted to the government house, where there were horsemen and guards in attendance. According to instructions which he had previously received, Lebrun while on his way to the government house let fall as if by accident a bundle of proclamations addressed to the inhabitants of St. Domingo. Hardly had he arrived at the place when two white men came in to entreat Christophe to listen to no propositions from the invaders, but to repel them force by force without returning an answer. Christophe now said to Lebrun, in a louder voice than necessary, "You cannot see the governor-general, but give me the papers which you have for him." After some remonstrance, and being threatened to be sent back as he came, Lebrun gave them up. Christophe took them immediately into an adjoining room, and was absent an hour with the door closed; but when he returned the door was left half open. "Monsieur," said Christophe

in a loud voice, "without the orders of Toussaint Louverture, who is now absent in the Spanish part, I cannot take it upon me to admit the squadron into this port, or receive the troops ashore." Lebrun here whispered in Christophe's ear that Gen. Leclerc had in store for him splendid marks of favor from the consular government. But Christophe, again raising his voice, and turning toward the door, which still remained ajar, continued, "No, Monsieur, I cannot listen to any proposition without the orders of the governor-general. The proclamations which you have brought with you savor of despotism. I am going to administer to my soldiers an oath to sustain liberty at the peril of life. The squadron is not now in sight, but when it stands in toward the harbor, which will be tomorrow morning, you can rejoin it. Meantime you will remain here in this apartment."

From all the circumstances of this interview, Lebrun felt persuaded that Toussaint himself was in the next apartment, where Christophe had remained so long, and toward which he always turned while speaking. The French aid-de-camp was served at supper upon silver, and he was struck with the appearance of elegance in every thing he saw. No black officer made his appearance to offer him his society, and he was attended by four domestics in livery, who were attentive to his wants but silent in their manners. At midnight the municipality of the town, accompanied by the public officers and elderly people of the place, came to importune Christophe with their solicitations and manifest to him their anxiety. They showed him the proclamation of Toussaint, in which he recommended obedience to the mother country "with the love of a child toward a parent." They endeavored to turn him to relent, by describing the disasters which he would bring upon Cape Francois by persevering in his present conduct, and they appealed to his kindness by recalling the services which he had but three months before rendered during the insurrection of Gen. Moyse. But unmoved by all this tide of supplication, Christophe remained inexorable. He answered, that "he was an officer—that he recognised no chief but Toussaint—that he would not believe that a fleet under foreign colors could be from the mother country—that the proclamations had

been manufactured aboard, and France would have taken other means to make known her will; and he finished by declaring that if the soi-disant captain-general Leclerc persisted in his design of entering the Cape its very soil should be burnt up before the squadron could come to anchor in the harbor." He however consented that a deputation from the town should accompany the French officer aboard, to request that Gen. Leclerc would defer his entry into the harbor for fortyeight hours, in order that time might be had to solicit Toussaint to recall the orders which he had previously given. This deputation was composed of two of the principal citizens of the town—the officiating priest and the consul of the United States at that port. Gen. Leclerc made answer to their request, that France was full of affection toward the colony, and disposed to do every thing to secure its happiness; and he recounted in a few words the favors which awaited Toussaint, to whom had been sent his children after having been educated with the greatest care. He added, that for Christophe also he had manifestations of the confidence of the French government, and that the ingratitude of these two chiefs would be great if they still persisted so culpably in offering resistance. He alleged that he could no longer delay his disembarkation, but that he should make his dispositions for that object within half an hour from the time when they should depart—which he assured them was time enough for Gen. Christophe to prevent by submission the shame of farther resistance.

Gen. Leclerc felt with reason that there was danger in farther temporizing, for every moment of the delay was occupied by the blacks ashore in preparing their means of war, by mounting cannon in the forts and storing every defensible point with arms and munitions. Lebrun came aboard to announce this intelligence, and to give information of the military movements which were taking place in the town itself.

The deputies returned from their unsuccessful mission to renew their solicitations to Christophe, whom they besought by his long fidelity to the French republic, the gratitude of which he was warned of being about to forfeit by a single misguided act, sufficient of itself to change his high estimation into disgrace; and they accompanied



their petitions by putting into his hands the following letter, which had been written to him by Gen. Leclerc.

"I learn with indignation, citizen general, your refusal to receive the French army under my command, while you allege for a pretext that you have received no orders to that effect from the governor-general. France has made peace with England and sent her forces to subdue those who are rebellious against her authority, if any such there are in St. Domingo. As to you, citizen general, I avow my grief to find you among the rebellious, and I apprize you that if today the forts Picolet and Belair and all the batteries along the shore are not given up, I shall land tomorrow morning at the head of fifteen thousand men. Four thousand are at this moment landing at Fort Liberté and eight thousand at Port Republican. You will find accompanying this my proclamation, expressing the intentions of government,—and I charge you to remember that whatever esteem your previous conduct may have acquired I shall hold you accountable for whatever may happen."

This was signed "*Leclerc, General-in-Chief and Captain-General of the Colony.*"

Christophe, however, did not swerve from his fixedness, and he did not even deign to notice this letter; but addressing himself to M. de la Garde, the government commissioner, whose importunities displeased him, he exclaimed, "You speak like a colonist—like a proprietor. I have no confidence in you." He then retired with a ferocious air, adding that his soul was ulcerated; and he shut himself against all further remonstrances, being confirmed as he was in this determination of purpose by circumstances which obliged Gen. Leclerc to put off the immediate execution of his threat. Being unable to procure a pilot, and the wind blowing strongly out of the harbor, the ships not only could not enter to disembark the troops, but were forced off into the open sea out of sight of the town.

On the following morning at daybreak great numbers of people of all ages and sexes thronged to Christophe, to beseech him with tears to change his purpose; but the

departure of the squadron encouraged him to hope that his firmness had succeeded in forcing the French to abandon the attempt to land against such resistance, and he was more obstinate than ever. He assembled the troops under his command upon the Place d'Armes, and compelled them to take an oath to conquer or perish in the crisis which had arrived to determine their future condition. This was in accordance with the principles contained in Toussaint's proclamation of the 8th of December, in which he had recommended obedience to France; but darkly hinted that if force should be used against his power and the liberty of his race, resistance must be made even to death. The manifesto of the French commander-in-chief was of a pacific tenor, which seemed but to announce the arrival of a new governor-general, attended by a military force sufficient to sustain him in his government; and it promised to all the officers of the colony, of whatever grade or color, a confirmation of their authority and a continuance in the exercise of their duties.

After the ceremony of taking the oath had been finished Christophe returned from the parade to reprimand the mayor of the town, a black whose name was Telemaque, because he had distributed the proclamations of Leclerc in the neighborhood of Cape Francois. This had not the intended effect, for the mayor had the courage, notwithstanding the dangerous situation in which his disobedience might place him, to defend his conduct, and to make it his boast that he had used his utmost efforts to give information of the good intentions of France. Christophe then assured him that the troops had already been ordered to clear the town of all its citizens; and it was required in consequence that all who were not under arms should repair immediately to the Haut du Cap. The mayor, who was not to be intimidated or driven from his purpose by this, and he replied that the municipality would in that case make a decree that no one should desert his post in the perilous emergency which had arrived. Christophe was disturbed at this firmness, and he proceeded to order the black national guard into its barracks, and to distribute arms to all the blacks who were rushing into the town from the plain, where every thing was already in disorder and panic in consequence of the advance of

Gen. Rochambeau's division, which had effected its landing at Mansanilla Bay, and driven before it the black troops who were in garrison at the forts Labourque and Anse. Rochambeau assisted by his cannon had carried the fortifications of Fort Dauphin, in which assault the French had lost but fourteen men—among whom, however, was the son of the Duc de Chartres, who acted as aid-de-camp to Gen. Rochambeau.

The municipality of Cape Francois, taught by this intelligence that the war had already commenced, and that all farther attempts at conciliation would be useless, ordered the town to be plentifully supplied with water, in the dread of another conflagration. The repeated orders of Christophe for all not under arms to evacuate the town, the ferocious tone and aspect of the soldiers, and the advice and precautions of the municipality, spread terror among the population, and old men, women and children, loaded with whatever was the most valuable, were crowding in throngs from the place.

On the approach of night part of the national guard and all the whites of the town betook themselves for shelter into the steep mountains which overlook the Cape, and at this moment the commencement of another scene of horror had already taken place. The guns of Fort Picolet had opened a cannonade upon a vessel of the squadron which in tacking across the mouth of the harbor had stood in near the land, and this was the signal for a new conflagration which was about to desolate that unfortunate town. It was not now brought to pass as in the time of Santhonax by the wild fury of hordes of barbarians, but the fire was enkindled by disciplined soldiers, who were yielding a passive obedience to the commands of their officers, as the latter superintended the work of destruction. The greatest order was preserved during the disaster, and the public edifices seemed especially marked out for destruction. The offices of the board of marine—the great church—the barracks—the arsenal, and the government house were set on fire in succession, and soon enveloped in flames. Those houses which were shut up were broken open by the soldiers,—and the fire was applied with precision, so as to be exposed to a current of wind to favor the progress of the flames. The town had been

previously rebuilt since the time of its previous destruction; and the flames, driven as they were by a strong wind from the land, spread with incredible rapidity, and by one o'clock the town had become no longer tenable, and within a few hours after it was once more a mass of ruins.\*

Twelve hundred persons collected by the municipality, and headed by the brave black Telemaque, now commenced their march by the light of the conflagration to gain the open country. They proceeded from the town by way of the Rue de Conseil, with the design to reach a mountain called La Vigie, but one of Christophe's officers named Ignace, was dispatched after them to order them to change their route, and proceed toward the Haut du Cap.—Telemaque, fearful that some secret order had been prepared to massacre those who had placed themselves under his guidance, affected a readiness to obey the officer, but when the latter had departed he continued to lead on his followers in the direction of their original destination. Desire of preservation, maternal love, conjugal tenderness, and terror and anxiety in all, gave these fugitives strength beyond their natural energies, and they hurried along through paths which led over sharp rocks and were surrounded with precipices.

The next day dawned upon a picture of wretchedness, to the dread realities of which but few parallels are found even in the disastrous fortunes of that most unfortunate island. The town of Cape Francois was burnt up—the black troops were ranged in order of battle along the shore, ready to execute any atrocity which might be ordered by their chiefs, who were reckless in their vengeance and despair;—the whites were a little remnant, trembling on the precipices of the Haut du Cap—and the rest of the population, guided by Telemaque, were hastening for their lives to secure a shelter for their defection from Christophe among the wild thickets of the Morne de la Vigie. There was not a ravine, mountain gorge or steep precipice but concealed some wretch who was waiting in terror for the storm of war to pass over, or trembling in momentary expectation of being put to death, either by the French, or what was more terrible, sacrificed to the vengeance of his own race. Telemaque and his retinue

\* Lacroix.

arrived in safety at La Vigie, and at daybreak they heard with a thrill of astonishment and terror a succession of explosions of powder magazines, which even at that distance made the ground tremble under their feet. These explosions, which completed the ruin of whatever of the town had been spared by the flames, announced the retreat. Christophe, Telemaque and his band now felt their hopes revive, and they were cheered by the possibility that they might now succeed in getting aboard the French squadron, when they thought their misfortunes would be at an end; but just at this moment Ignace arrived with orders from Christophe to burn the two houses of La Vigie, and to bring all who were there to the Haut du Cap. Every effort was made to turn him from the execution of these orders by prayers, entreaties and offers of money, but all in vain. The agent of Christophe was inexorable, and the fugitives were forced to comply. But while Telemaque and the municipality promised to obey they secretly resolved to regulate their march by the movements of the French squadron, which a favorable wind was directing toward the harbor of the Cape, and they were favored with an excuse for their delay by their fatigue and the badness of the roads. They moved slowly onward, and arrived at length at the plantation Espagne, which they found a mere heap of ashes—and the archives and public documents, which had been left there the night before by the municipality, had also been consumed in the flames. Here they resolved to wait until events should decide their destiny. All eyes were fixed upon the movements of the French squadron as it passed without resistance the forts of the harbor, which had been evacuated by the forces of Christophe after the torch had been applied to the magazines. At four o'clock in the afternoon of that day Telemaque and his party received intelligence that the French were landing, and they returned to Cape Francois. Here they found nothing but a mass of roofless, blackened walls where their homes had once stood, and themselves a crowd of beggared outcasts, hated by their countrymen who regarded them as traitors to their cause, and distrustful of the French, of whose ultimate designs they were far from being assured. But they constituted a portion of the black and mulatto population of Cape

Francois more orderly and industrious than the rest, and they preferred rather to submit peaceably to the French than to involve themselves in the calamities of a new series of hostilities. But their pacific tendency had availed them little, for they had now lost all that they possessed, to the amount of one hundred millions, and their late terror and anxiety was now changed into indignation at the cruel policy of their chiefs, with whose personal ambition they felt no sympathy. With this feeling they stretched out their hands in amity and alliance to the French, who united with them in unavailing regrets that the disembarkation had not taken place at an earlier period, which would perhaps have prevented the destruction of the town, and preserved an immensity of resources to the army of Gen. Leclerc.\*

It is unsafe to entrust military success in a war like this to plans which are detailed in the cabinet, and sent to be executed with the slow precision of a series of prescribed movements. It had been arranged that Gen. Leclerc should land his troops at a point some leagues from Cape Francois, and while he attacked that town in the rear Gen. Rochambeau's division was to march upon Grande Riviere and Dondon; and by this manœuvre it was hoped to save Cape Francois and the beautiful plantations in its plain from being destroyed by the negroes. But the delay in landing had left the black chiefs time to determine upon a plan of defence, which was in all cases to burn and retreat. On the day following the above events Gen. Leclerc landed at Limbé, at the head of Hardy's division, and it was determined to evacuate Cape Francois, as that town was no longer tenable.

While the war in the North was thus reducing every thing to ashes, events were taking place in the South which had an important bearing upon the prospects of Toussaint. Gen. Boudet's division arrived before Port au Prince on the 3d of February, and Gen. Sabes, aid-de-camp to the commanding general, was immediately ordered to proceed ashore with the proclamations of the First Consul. He was received with respect in the town, but when about to return he discovered that this was not permitted him. On the following day Gen. Ogé, command-

ant at Port au Prince, wrote to Gen. Boudet, that in consequence of the absence of his superior officer, General Dessalines, he felt himself compelled to wait for orders, and until they could be procured Gen. Sabes would be detained ashore; but he conjured him to rest in confidence on that account, as his officer would be treated with all due respect. The bearer of this letter was instructed to communicate to Gen. Boudet, that Gen. Ogé found his authority distrusted by the troops under his command, in consequence of his being a white man, and that notwithstanding his amicable wishes he could not act without the countenance of the black chiefs of the army. The tenor of this message seeming to announce resistance on the part of the blacks, Gen. Boudet immediately began to make preparations to secure success in case he should be driven to make a descent by force. But notwithstanding every activity was employed by the ships in getting ready to commence landing the troops, the preparations for that object took up the rest of that day, and Gen. Boudet profited by it to write to the chiefs of the garrison by the return of Ogé's officer. This was soon answered by another message, which stated "that after the services which had been rendered by the blacks of St. Domingo both to that colony and to France, they felt indignant that the name of their general was not to be found in the proclamation of the First Consul, which seemed thus to betray bad intentions toward them. But measures for the preservation of their liberty had long since been taken, and if any attempts were made by the French to effect a landing by force in the absence of their general, Toussaint Louverture, three alarm guns would be fired, and at this signal, which would be repeated from mountain to mountain, every town and habitation in the island would be set on fire and all the whites put to death."

The French general was not deterred by this savage menace, and he proceeded immediately to issue orders that the disembarkation of the forces should take place at six o'clock in the morning of the following day. This order was carried into execution without any resistance, the land forces forming into column on the side of Lamentin; but hardly had this been effected when the three

alarm guns were fired from Fort National, and the mountains around repeated the horrible signal, and clouds of smoke began almost immediately to arise, to manifest that this signal had been understood; and, as every one pictured in his imagination, the fatal decree was in the act of being carried into execution. The French soldiers preserved the fixed attitude of those who suspect danger to be nigh—they closed their ranks, and kept their eyes upon their commander. Gen. Boudet, himself agitated with indignation and solicitude at the thought of what transactions might be in progress around him, maintained an appearance of external calmness, while he ordered that not a gun should be fired before the blacks had manifested actual intentions of hostility. He put himself at the head of the column, which at once commenced its march for Fort Bizoton, and before noon it had arrived within cannon shot of that post. It was manned by Toussaint's thirteenth brigade, in the ranks of which were many mulatto officers. A black captain named Seraphin came out of the fort for a parley, and he commenced his duties by announcing that they would defend that post against every attack. The French general pretended not to hear this blustering message, but turning to the grenadiers at the head of his column he said to them, "Comrades, you are within the territories of France, and should find none but friends; keep your arms shouldered and let them kill us, that those who follow us may have the right to avenge our death—to avenge France." Then turning to the black officer he added, "go back to your battalion—tell what you have just heard—fire upon us if you dare, but take due precaution—sell your lives dear, for you are lost."

The column continued its march with cries of "vive la republique," "vive la liberté," and the black garrison of the fort seeing the French advance without suspicion, and hearing the words of Gen. Boudet, answered with cries of "vive la France," "vivent nos freres," and no farther resistance was threatened.

After the garrison of Fort Bizoton had been reinforced with a battalion of French troops, Gen. Boudet's division proceeded on towards Port au Prince, and the black grenadiers under Capt. Seraphin were incorporated in the



column to constitute an efficient example to the black troops of the town. The division during its march passed a block house, situate upon an elevated spot, and defended by one hundred blacks and four cannon. This was summoned to surrender, but the injury which it could inflict upon the forces of the French being inconsiderable, and the day being almost spent, it was passed by, though it had refused to submit, and the French troops pressed forward to the town.

The advance guard had already arrived within cannon shot of the place, when Gen. Boudet dispatched two battalions to the right to gain possession of the gate of Leogane. The first line of the blacks was formed by a body of more than a thousand men, and upon the heights which overhung the road through which the French column had to advance there appeared the heads of those who were stationed in reserve at different points, whose numbers amounted in all to more than four thousand. The French general at this stage of his advance sent an officer to say aloud and intelligibly, "We wish to enter as friends, and we come to reinforce the troops of the colony." To this it was answered promptly, "We cannot receive you without orders to that effect from the governor-general, Toussaint Louverture." The light troops of the French army were now ordered to approach without firing, and the main body proceeded slowly on its march until it had gained an angle of the road, at the distance of three hundred feet from the post. All at once the blacks cried out from the wall, "Advance—we have orders to receive you—we have orders—advance." The head of the French column advanced immediately, when there took place a general discharge of cannon and musketry, which killed one hundred of the French upon the spot, and wounded double that number. The rear of the column now passed quickly over the space between the ground it occupied and the fort, and a charge was made immediately; and without firing a gun the blacks were driven from their entrenchments at the point of the bayonet.

The detachment which had been sent to the right had by this time traversed the circuit of the town, and driven in all the outposts in the way of their march; and thus Gen. Boudet's division was almost in possession of the

place without firing a gun. At the same moment that the fort had opened its fire upon the French the block-house which had been left in the rear began to coöperate with it by commencing a brisk cannonade, but without any effect. The forts of the harbor also took the signal, and began to fire upon the fleet; but the French admiral, Latouche, brought his ships immediately into line, and answered the fire with such effect that the forts were soon silenced, and the blacks fled in terror. The guns of the fleet were now turned toward that side of the town which was opposite to that upon which the troops were advancing, and they kept up a brisk cannonade upon that quarter.

Night had now come on, and in the confusion and darkness, the negroes believed themselves attacked both in front and rear. Their chiefs in making ready to escape cried out to the soldiers to set fire to the buildings and kill all the whites; but the French troops pursued them so closely with their bayonets that there was no time afforded them to put these orders in execution, and they fled with all possible haste without order or a thought of farther resistance. Almost the only skirmish within the town took place at the treasury, where a short stand was made against the progress of the French. This more active resistance was afterwards discovered to have originated in the desire to secure the money which had been hoarded at this place, where the French found sums amounting to two millions and a half of francs.

The town was now inundated with French soldiery, and the blacks completely driven out. That it had not shared the fate of Cape Francois was not due to the milder nature of Dessalines, but to the promptitude and activity with which it had been attacked and carried. Gen. Ogé, the commandant of the place, and all the whites who had succeeded in saving themselves from being massacred by the enraged blacks, now came forward to express their joy and gratulation at the success of the French. Among them was found father Lecun, the apostolic prefect of the colony and priest of Port au Prince, who was surrounded by a crowd of five hundred persons of every age, sex and color, all of whom had until now been shut up in the church, whither they had fled for sanctuary from the atrocities of the negroes. Lecun had placed himself at the

door of the church, clad in the vestments of his office and with the sacred vessels of the altar in his hands, to overawe the ferocity of the blacks and save the victims who had fled to him for protection. The exultations of these persons for their safety and deliverance were all hushed in silence, when the intelligence was announced that almost all the whites of the town had been carried off to the mountains, and among them Gen. Sabes, the envoy from head quarters, together with the officers and sailors who had attended him ashore. From the state of irritation in which the blacks had departed, in consequence of their being foiled in their incendiary attempts upon the town, it was feared that the fate of these unfortunate persons was already sealed; and this sorrowful reflection struck a pang to the heart of their comrades and companions which made the joys of victory dumb. Many of the whites, in consequence of their refusing to follow the negroes in their retreat, had been murdered upon the Place d'Armes of the town, and among the bodies there was found that of the white commander of artillery, Gen. Lacombe, who in a council of war to determine what resistance should be made to the advance of the French had insisted upon admitting them as brethren; and when he refused to give up the keys of the magazine and arsenal a mulatto officer stepped forward into the circle and shot him through the head with a pistol.\*

The capture of Port au Prince struck a panic into the blacks, who now more than ever dreaded the invincibility of their enemy. They were discouraged from making any farther resistance against opponents so formidable, and many of them surrendered themselves in mere despair. Gen. Boudet excited their astonishment and hope by the deep policy of his measures. It had for a long time been his practice to demand passports of all those who were entering Port au Prince from the country; but by order of the French general this requisition was revoked by proclamation made at the sound of the trumpet, and the outpost stationed at the entrance of the town was commanded to allow all to pass without hindrance or distinction. This regulation had an effect upon the negroes which was favorable to the success of the French. The

\* Lacroix.

blacks flocked back to the town to admire the troops. They were struck with their martial bearing and pleased with their high discipline and good behavior; and they were soon won over to love the condescension and forbearance of those whose courage in the field they considered so irresistible. The spirit of resistance was greatly checked, and the French felt that their conquest would be easy. The block-house, which had until a late period maintained its hostility, chiefly because it was not attacked, was now taken by the French—and the black chiefs stationed in the neighborhood of Port au Prince, encouraged by the lenity of their invaders or in despair of success over them, sent in one after another their offers of submission to Gen. Boudet.

Soon as it became known that the blacks under Dessalines had rallied at Croix des Bouquets a detachment of Boudet's division was sent against them. Not daring to make head against his enemy in the open field, the black chief when he had gained intelligence of the approach of this column set fire to the cane fields and houses of the plain, and fled before it, obliging all whom he encountered to accompany him in his march. The French troops finding no enemy to combat set themselves to extinguish the flames; and while they were engaged in their work they were joined by great numbers of the negroes of the country, who came to assist them against the orders of Dessalines, whom, relying upon the protection of the French, they dared in this instance to disobey. This fierce chieftain directed his march upon Mirebalais, sweeping every thing along with him in his progress. Though he had been less successful than Christophe in carrying into execution the incendiary policy of Toussaint, he was, nevertheless, the chief upon whom the most reliance was placed, as his violence and recklessness were more profitable to the black commander-in-chief in this crisis of his fortune than the more cautious and deliberate movements of Christophe. It was the policy of Toussaint to put forth these two generals in all instances of direct collision with the French, while he remained in concealment whence he could guide and control their operations without incurring the responsibility of openly resisting the armies of France. Dessalines in his retreat

seized upon all the whites who fell into his hands, and compelled them to march before him into the interior, where they were put to death. M. de St. James and several emigrant colonists were fortunate enough to escape this massacre; and while the cane fields of their plantations were on fire they fled to join the ranks of their countrymen. They were aided in their flight by a negro named Patience, who was a captain of dragoons, and whose lieutenant was the young Count Gorman, to whom Patience had once been a slave. Not all the whites had been murdered at the appointed signal, and in consequence of new orders from Toussaint the remainder were destined as hostages, to be collected in crowds and marched into the interior, while to intimidate the French and arrest their military operations a message was sent to them that the white prisoners would not be put to death unless the French persisted in their invasion of the territory. But notwithstanding this new policy of their chiefs the subaltern officers of the black army who had these prisoners in their charge, could not be restrained in their ferocity when the objects of their hatred were so directly in their power, and the rout by which they passed was left scattered with the mutilated bodies of whites who had fallen victims to their vengeance.

Dessalines had now crossed the river of Cul de Sac and taken up a position upon the heights of Charboniere. His retreat had much diminished his numbers in consequence of the numerous desertions which had taken place of those blacks who from secret attachment to the French, or in terror of their arms were seizing daily opportunities to join their standard.

The French general was informed by these deserters of the ulterior designs of Dessalines, who was manœuvring to throw his forces into the South, and secure the possession of the mountain fastnesses in that province. To counteract this movement Gen. Boudet ordered a detachment to proceed without delay on the road to Léogane, and thus cut off the communication which the black chief now held with that part of the island. This movement compelled Dessalines to countermarch; but while his forces fell back upon the heights of Charboniere he himself with a number of his officers crossed the moun-

tains by paths almost inaccessible, and in this manner succeeded in getting beyond the French lines and arriving safely at Leogane.

The French detachment which had been ordered upon Leogane, after a succession of movements by which it succeeded in gaining possession of several intermediate places before the blacks could have time to destroy them, arrived before that place on the 11th of February, 1802. Dessalines had thrown himself into the town on the night before, having broken through a thousand obstacles and crossed precipices and mountains until now deemed impassable. At his command the blacks immediately began to remove all their ordnance into the country; and these, together with as many warlike stores as possible, were transported to a precipitous position called Caberet Carde. To this steep acclivity the blacks retreated upon the approach of the French, after having first set fire to the town of Leogane.

Rigaud had now made his appearance at Aux Cayes, and under his influence the South was already rallying against the power of Toussaint. Gen. Boudet, having gained over a mulatto officer named Celestin, dispatched him from Port au Prince to carry his orders to the chiefs of the South, to secure their coöperation with Rigaud and their submission to France. This measure succeeded. The commandant of Petit Goave, when informed that Rigaud was again in the field and that the French general wished him to place himself under his direction, refused any longer to obey the commands of Dessalines, and even intercepted his letters to other commanders and sent them to Port au Prince. Celestin soon gained over Gen. Laplume, the commander of the South under Toussaint, and he in concert with a multitude of other chiefs took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to France. This oath was then administered by them to the blacks under their command, and in consequence of the passive submission which the latter yielded to their chiefs the possession of the whole South was secured at once to the French. The mulattoes had ever found it an irksome compliance to yield obedience to black domination; and though they too feared the designs of the French, they nevertheless determined to coöperate with them in the

vague hope that in this deadly struggle between the different colors, some advantage might arise to give ascendancy to their caste. With more military science than the blacks, they proved themselves valuable coadjutors to the French in their military operations against Toussaint. Every mulatto chieftain established a military cordon along the boundaries of his territory, which effectually prevented Dessalines from penetrating into the country. The latter ceased not to proclaim to the negroes that the object of the French expedition was the re-establishment of slavery; and these efforts, together with the dread of his savage propensities, had such effect upon the inhabitants of Jacmel that the whole population of that town, whites and all, published, as a voluntary expression of feeling, a manifesto, declaring their regret that any attempt should be made to take the government of the island out of the hands of Toussaint. The French general supposing this compliant attitude to have its origin in fear or in sordid considerations, from the danger which threatened Toussaint's advantageous system of farming the plantations, was filled with indignation at such base subserviency in whites, who permitted themselves to be made the instruments to exalt a negro's ambition. But the occurrence is nothing wonderful, as independently of the summary vengeance which was ready to overwhelm them from the fierceness of Dessalines in case of their manifesting any lukewarmness in the cause of Toussaint, great numbers were secretly attached to the black general-in-chief, as the recipients of his personal favor and patronage. This is evident from the fact, that among his private effects there were afterwards found locks of hair, taken from complexions of every color—rings, billetdoux, and other memorials of secret attachment, though this Philandering intercourse was held with a negro who was both old and ugly.

Meantime Dessalines was indefatigable in his exertions to arouse the fears and suspicions of the negroes; and such was the success which his influence gave to his attempts that disquietude and alarm were soon spread over the whole country: and the French were earnestly questioned by those blacks who had joined their standard as to the real designs of the expedition, and if its only

object was in reality to maintain the sovereignty of France in St. Domingo. A scene is described by Gen. Lacroix which vividly depicts the dread then felt by all the blacks. "Seeing, while upon parade in Port au Prince, an old negro chief who had formerly deserted from the insurgents, and though at the hazard of his own life had in a hundred instances rendered the most important services to the whites, I went up to the spot where he stood, surrounded by his family. He presented to me his wife and daughters, who were handsome; and I noticed that the old man watched me eagerly, to detect if I treated them with hauteur or politeness—and I therefore threw more circumspection into my address, and saw that the old man was flattered with my attention, and sensible to the respect with which I treated him. He requested me to visit his house and remain with him a short time; and hardly had I crossed his threshold when crossing his hands on his breast, and sobbing vehemently, he addressed me in the following strain: 'My good general, you are frank—tell me with truth if you have come here to re-establish slavery? Whatever may happen, old Paul Lacroix does not care for himself; but my daughters, my poor daughters slaves, I should die of grief.'" This scene manifests that even the better class of blacks had become suspicious of the designs of the expedition; and at the same time the representations of Dessalines were producing the same results among the mass of the negroes. But the class of anciens libres, or free black and mulatto proprietors, secretly exulted at the hope which the re-establishment of slavery afforded them of regaining their former slave property, and seeing the island restored to permanent tranquillity and productiveness.

The preservation of the South was too important to be left to its own unaided efforts; and notwithstanding the coöperation of most of the mulattoes with the French, there was great danger that the perpetual exertions of Dessalines in alarming the fears and exciting the distrust of the negroes might at last succeed in arming that province against the expedition. Something was deemed necessary to be done immediately, in order to rescue those places which had already declared for the French, as Dessalines was threatening them with utter destruction,



both as a punishment for their defection and to serve as an example to the rest of the province. Another consideration impelled the French to save this part of the island from the agents of Toussaint,—and this was the immense store of colonial produce, amounting in value to more than twelve millions of francs, which was in store in the different towns. These urgent inducements decided Gen. Boudet to send thither one half of his division and fourteen hundred men departed without delay from Port au Prince under the command of Gen. Arbois. The position of Caberet Carde was carried by assault, and another detachment occupied Arcahaie, and drove the black forces from Charboniere—the negroes every where fleeing in terror before the French troops; and as they retreated setting fire to every thing combustible in their way; but as these conflagrations were now regarded as an evidence that the reign of the blacks was at an end, they ceased to be a cause of sorrow to the French.

While these events were in action in the western part of the island the Spanish portion was gained over to the French with but little difficulty. The two frigates which had been dispatched from Samana under the command of Gen. Kerverseau arrived off the city of Santo Domingo on the 2d of February. This place was under the command of a black named Paul Louverture, and he followed the usual system of temporizing and delay, which had been practised at Cape Francois and Port au Prince. He made answer to the summons to surrender, sent to him by the French commander, by alleging that he could do nothing before receiving the orders of his brother, the governor-general of the island—and he requested the French to wait for the arrival of these orders. But some of the whites of the city, to whom it was humiliating to remain in subjection to the blacks while means were thus at hand to rid themselves of this domination, formed a conspiracy by night and seized upon one of the forts of the city sword in hand, and opened its gates to the forces of the French general. But though this diversion in his favor promised Kerverseau such ready success, an unexpected obstacle interposed to prevent him from availing himself of the aid it afforded. It was found impossible to land upon a coast where there was such a surf that no boat could live;

and after repeated attempts, in which the boats of the squadron were all upset in the sea, though no one was drowned, the enterprise was suspended. The success of the inhabitants ashore being thus unsupported by the squadron on the coast, and the garrison of the place being already in motion to attack them, they deemed it necessary to evacuate the fort which they had captured, and retreat into the country, where, having drawn a reinforcement to their numbers from among the population around them they made a new effort against the city by attacking a post situate without its gates. Gen. Kerverseau, ignorant of this new enterprise of the inhabitants, and believing all hope of immediate success to be over, ordered the vessels to be moored outside of the harbor, as in accordance with the instructions which he had received from the commander-in-chief he had resolved to wait for reinforcements before he made an attack upon the city. Hardly had this order been issued when a boat was rowed off, bringing an invitation for the French to enter and take peaceable possession of the place.

At the head of the clergy in the Spanish territory there was a French bishop, who, after the cession of that part of the island to France had been sent out to succeed the Spanish bishop, who had departed to Havana. When this functionary had received intelligence that there was a large fleet to the windward of the island, he considered it an expedition from France, and when he was informed that Toussaint had quitted Samana to watch the movements of the fleet as it proceeded along the coast, he made the best of his way to the town of Santiago de los Caballeros, to bring over to his designs the mulatto who held the chief command in that department, Gen. Clervaux. He succeeded in establishing the allegiance of this general to France, and the latter proffered his submission without meditating the least resistance to the forces which were off the coast. The force of this example was great over Gen. Paul Louverture, who, situated as he was, far from the influence of his brother, and distrustful of success over a force of such vast superiority, published a proclamation to the troops under his command, which declared that "liberty was the talisman which inflamed his zeal, but that love for France overcame all other con-

siderations." Influenced thus by his fears and his desires the black general had sent a message to the French commander inviting him to take possession of the city.

The entire defection of the troops in the Spanish territory under Gen. Clervaux, and the defeat of those in the neighborhood of Port au Prince under Gen. Dessalines, reduced the available means of Toussaint to three half brigades; and with this feeble reliance, aided by his own guard and the negroes taken from the plantations of the North, he still had the courage to maintain a resistance against the forces of Gen. Leclerc; for of every minute movement he was at once the secret instigator and soul. From the achievements which he effected with this inferiority of force it is easy to conceive what he might have accomplished had he been in possession of all his resources, and been able to concentrate all his forces, to be guided in their movements by the lightning of his own genius, and animated to exertion by the energy of his own indomitable spirit.

## CHAPTER III.

Overtures made to Toussaint through his children—Military operations of Gen. Humbert at Port de Paix—Toussaint and Christophe proclaimed outlaws—Triumphs of the French—Advance of Boudet's division on St. Marks—Burning of that town by Dessalines—Massacre of the whites—Operations of Gen. Lacroix at Port au Prince—Defeat of Toussaint in the plain of Gonaïves—His retreat to the mountains of Cahos—Attack of the French upon the blacks at Trianon—Massacre of whites at Verrettes by Dessalines—Military operations at Crête à Pierrot—Continuance of the war—Desperation of Toussaint—His surrender and retirement from power—Critical situation of Leclerc—Occurrence of fever among the French troops—Toussaint seized and sent to France—Ravages of disease among the French—Execution of Charles Belair—The blacks resume hostilities—Their successes and the desperate condition of the French—Death of Gen. Leclerc—Gen. Rochambeau succeeds to the command—His operations against the negroes under Dessalines.

BONAPARTE had foreseen that the success of this expedition depended much upon the nature of the events

which should follow its first arrival; and to prepare every thing to correspond to this forecast he had arranged all the details with such particularity that while in some cases it ensured success, in others it not only deprived the generals of all responsibility, but fettered their movements—and where the first step was wrong made disaster follow on disaster. Two of the children of Toussaint, the one a black and the other a mulatto, accompanied the expedition, together with their preceptor, who was the director of the institution at which they had been taught. They were the bearers of a letter from the First Consul to Toussaint, which was filled with expressions of high consideration for his services to the French nation, and of admiration of his talents. But it stated that however the constitution which had been prepared by order of Toussaint might have been fitted for St. Domingo while it was environed with enemies, with no hope of drawing succor from France; now, that these difficulties were removed, it must be viewed as bestowing too little sovereignty on France—a fault in the document which Toussaint would doubtless be the first to acknowledge. The letter invited Toussaint to assist the captain-general, Leclerc, with his counsels, and to make known to the inhabitants of St. Domingo the solicitude of France for their happiness; and it requested him in all things to conduct himself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world.

The frigate having aboard these children of Toussaint not being able for want of a pilot to enter the harbor of Cape Francois on the day of its arrival off the harbor, hostilities had actually commenced and were in full activity on every side before Toussaint received this letter, which had been intended as a preventive of war.

They set off from the Cape on the 7th of February, accompanied by M. Coasnon, their preceptor; and not finding Toussaint at the plantation Henricourt, where it had been supposed he was, they continued their journey to Ennery; but even here they did not find the object of their search. The children were received by their mother with transports of joy, and dispatches were sent immediately to inform her husband of their arrival, and that they were the bearers of a letter to him from the First Consul

which would please him much. Toussaint arrived on the second day after the letter had been sent to hasten his return. He embraced his children with a joy beyond the power of utterance; and while he was delivering himself to all the transports of paternal affection, M. Coisson deemed the moment favorable to address him on the object of his journey. He conjured him to accept the propositions of the First Consul, and painted to him in seductive colors the brilliance of his future hopes, should he decide to ally himself with the French, while at the same time he warned him of the implacable hostility and certain destruction which he would draw down upon himself should he persevere in his attempts to make resistance to that army which had returned victorious over all Europe in arms, but which now had no enemies to employ its leisure but the rebels of St. Domingo. He ended by saying—"Listen to your children—they are faithful interpreters of the intentions of the First Consul—confide in their innocence and in the sincerity of their sentiments, for what they will tell you is truth itself." Young Isaac then spoke, and told his father what had been said to him both by the First Consul and the captain-general; and while he was speaking Toussaint maintained a profound silence. A change had already stole over his countenance, and it had no longer the expression of parental fondness but the stoical collectedness of a wary statesman. M. Coisson then presented to him in a golden box the letter of the First Consul. Toussaint read it again and again, giving every manifestation that he was well satisfied with the sentiments it contained; but to the proposal of M. Coisson that he should proceed to Cape Francois and hold an interview with Gen. Leclerc, (of whom he had been assured he was to be lieutenant) while during his absence M. Coisson offered to remain as a hostage, he answered—"It is no longer practicable—war has already commenced, and every one is in a rage for battle. My officers already have every thing prepared to burn and pillage, but if Gen. Leclerc will suspend operations on his side I will do as much on mine."\*

M. Coisson applied himself immediately to write to Gen. Leclerc, and Toussaint took it upon himself to send

\* Malo.

the letter, but he would not remain any longer at Ennery or risk another interview with his children; and within two hours after his arrival he had again mounted his horse and was on the way to the scene of his duties. Other cares than those of nature were now the thoughts which ruled him, and it was at this time that he made preparations for the future contingencies of his fortune, by having his treasures buried in the mountains of the Cahos; and it is asserted by tradition that he shot with his own hand those by whose assistance he effected this, that he might remain the master of his own secret. The amount of this treasure has been estimated at \$40,000,000—but this estimate must be uncertain, as at this time all the accounts of his administration were burnt up. Many of the sums collected by him were publicly known; and although he had expended much in the purchase of arms and munitions of war, at exorbitant prices, he nevertheless had large sums remaining, some of which he reserved in his hands, while others were invested in the United States, all of which were lost at his death.\*

Before his departure, Toussaint, urged by M. Coisson and the solicitations of his children, promised to write an answer to the letter of Gen. Leclerc, and M. Coisson engaged to remain at Ennery until it could be prepared. On the night of the 12th of February this letter was received through the hands of M. Granville, a Frenchman who resided at Gonaives in the quality of tutor to the third son of Toussaint. The message was received by M. Coisson—"Take back with you my children, since it must be so—I will remain faithful to my brethren and to my God." M. Granville informed M. Coisson that the blacks were in an unusual state of irritation, and that the lives of the unfortunate whites who were among them hung by a slender thread, which might be separated at any moment.

Toussaint wrote to Gen. Leclerc that he had come to remove him from his authority by force; and he reproached him for not having delivered the letter of the First Consul to him until three months from its date;—for having by acts of hostility committed aggressions upon the rights and past services of his race; and he declared that

\* Lacroix.

the preservation of those rights imposed upon him duties beyond those of nature;—that he was ready to make a sacrifice of his own children, whom he had sent back, that he might not be restrained from performing his duty by their presence; and after all these peremptory assertions he closed his letter by saying that he wanted time in order to decide how to act. The French general hastened to reply to this communication, and to send back the children. He invited Toussaint to coöperate with him in restoring order—gave him the assurance of his word that the past should be forgotten—that he should be treated with distinction—and in case he united himself to the French that he should be proclaimed first lieutenant to the captain-general; and he finished by saying, that notwithstanding his instructions were to the intent that he should not discontinue the operations of war when they had once been commenced, still, in the hope of bringing about an accommodation he would condescend to an armistice of four days, and in case of his still persisting in hostilities after this he should proceed immediately to proclaim him an enemy of France and an outlaw.

The terms of this letter compelled Toussaint to a final decision, and he was highly irritated at the ultimatum. He held an interview with his children, and offered them the liberty to choose between hostility to France or to their parent. He assured them that he did not blame them for their attachment to France, for that was the land which had furnished them with education; but between that country and himself there was the intervention of difference of color, and he could not endanger the liberty of his race by putting it at the mercy of an expedition in the ranks of which were found a host of those who were his active enemies: as, not to mention great numbers of whites, there were found among the forces of Leclerc Rigaud, Petion, Boyer and Chanlatte, who were his personal foes. The instructions of Leclerc, he continued, are not to stop to negotiate after hostilities have commenced; and as France trusts more to might than to right, this decisiveness breathes of despotism; for if they will not treat with the blacks when they yet retain some power, what will they do when neither I nor my race have any? Never was the stoicism of Toussaint's ambition put to

sterner test. His children threw themselves into his arms—but their caresses were powerless in moving him. He had wrought up his stubborn spirit to an oaken inflexibility, and during the intervals of the conversation he ceased not to repeat—"My children, take your part; whatever your choice shall be I shall cherish you always." Their tears and supplications had the effect of the dew drop upon the flinty rock, and they could not soften or change the stern determination of their parent. At last Isaac, the eldest, burst from his father's arms, exclaiming "I am a faithful servant of France, and can never consent to take up arms against my country." The other son, a mulatto named Placide, manifested less decision. Toussaint was still unmoved and immovable. He blessed his son even while he separated from him to assume arms in the ranks of his enemies—and in the meantime Placide, overmastered by the ascendancy of his father's heroism, threw himself upon his neck, exclaiming, "I am for you, my father—I fear the future—I dread slavery—I am ready to flight against it—I know France no longer." Toussaint, gratified that one of his sons had decided with him upon resistance to France, immediately placed him at the head of a battalion of his guards, and in a few days the young man was engaged in active warfare against that army in the ranks of which he had returned to his country.

An account of the above scene reached Cape Francois in a few days, and at the same time a letter was received from Isaac, announcing that notwithstanding his own inclination to the contrary, he had at length yielded to the entreaties of his mother, who had exerted herself to prevent his return to join the French army. When such unwavering decision existed in the bosom of Toussaint not to yield peaceably his place to another, the French commander-in-chief had evidence enough that he must fight for the possession of the government to which he had been appointed. This was but a remote calculation in the plan of the expedition, as it had been supposed that no open force would be arrayed by the negroes against such an imposing armament, but that an easy lodgment might be effected in the island by the forces of the captain-general, after which the ulterior designs of the expe-



dition might be gradually developed and accomplished. It was now evident that nothing but the force of arms would ever sever the knot which bound the authority of the island to the possession of Toussaint ; and this thought was one of regret, from the nature of the war which must follow, in which continual conquest on the one side would scarcely repay for the ravages of climate and the destructiveness and cruelty which would be practised on the other.

On the 12th of February Gen. Humbert effected a landing at Port de Paix, but it was only to find that town a heap of ashes. Maurepas, one of the most intrepid of Toussaint's generals, who commanded in that place, spurned all attempts at negotiation, and opened his batteries upon the French sloop of war which entered the harbor to summon the town to surrender. The French however forced the passage of the forts, and in spite of a continual fire kept up upon them from the shore, they landed in the town and drove the blacks before them. The latter now blew up the forts, and the town was soon enveloped in a raging conflagration, amidst the flames of which the blacks disputed every inch of ground, and only retired sullenly when no effort could preserve the blazing habitations from utter ruin. Even when the French remained in possession of what was once the town they were harassed by continual skirmishes, and so indefatigable was the activity of Maurepas to prevent the advance of the French into the country, that after being continually engaged with the enemy for two days and losing two hundred of their men, the latter had made but two leagues of territory. Gen. Humbert had but twelve hundred men under his orders, and so continually had these been employed to maintain themselves against the perpetual harassment of the blacks, and with such inconsiderable advantage that but for a timely reinforcement which arrived on the 15th of February the French general would have been driven from that coast.

Two days after this Gen. Leclerc published a proclamation to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, assuring them that the object of his expedition was one of peace, and alleging that as he had given orders that Toussaint Louverture should come and surrender his authority to him as his successor in office—orders which that chieftain had

so far disobeyed as to refuse positively his compliance with them, while he had been employed in stirring up the blacks to assist him in his attempted rebellion,—therefore, in consequence of this disobedience, Toussaint and Christophe were declared rebels to France, and every citizen was required to treat them as such; and all officers, civil and military, who should thereafter obey the orders of any one except the generals of the French republic who were under his command were also declared rebels. It was farther added, that the negroes of the plantations who had been led astray through respect for their chiefs would be treated as erring children, and sent back to their labors unpunished, if they had not attempted to excite insurrection; that the soldiers who should abandon the standard of Toussaint would be received into the French army; and that Gen. Auguste Clervaux, commander of the department of Cibao, as he had recognised the French government and the captain-general of the island, would be continued in his command.

The army of Leclerc was now reinforced by the arrival of another fleet under Admiral Gantheaume, having on board seven thousand men to swell the amount of force under Rochambeau and Hardy. The disposable troops in the North were now formed into three divisions, under the generals Desfourneaux, Hardy and Rochambeau, and the campaign was fairly commenced. Desfourneaux's division marched from Limbé upon Plaisance, and the French were put in possession of the latter place without much difficulty, as the black chief of that canton, Jean Pierre Dumesnil, had the resolution to disobey the orders of Toussaint, and instead of giving his district to the flames and retreating before the French, he came out to meet them at the head of five hundred men, the chief proprietors in that district. Hardy's division marched from Cape Francois, carried by assault a formidable position held by the blacks at a place called Boispin, and pressed on to Marmelade, which was wrested from Christophe—the black chief making his escape with a force of two thousand men. Rochambeau's division marched from Fort Dauphin and reached St. Michel, on the Spanish frontiers, without encountering an enemy.

Meantime Gen. Humbert found himself more equally

matched than the other French generals, as it was with much difficulty that he could make head against Maurepas, who had now made a stand at a place called Trois Rivières, where Toussaint seemed inclined to risk a general battle in order to save Gonaïves, the only considerable town which amidst the perpetual conquests of the French now remained to him. Gen. Humbert not only could not drive the black chief from his position, but he had great difficulty to maintain himself against his repeated and vigorous sallies. He now received a seasonable reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, which enabled him to act offensively against Maurepas, who seemed ready to drive him out of Port de Paix. Gen. Debelle, who commanded the forces which had come to the assistance of Humbert, resolved to strike a blow which would put Maurepas in retreat at once; and for this purpose he would not wait for the effective coöperation of Humbert's corps nor for the cessation of a violent tempest which had come down from the mountains, but pressed forward with his column soon as it could be formed upon the shore where it had landed. The troops of Humbert, fatigued and dispirited by a constant succession of skirmishes, could effect but little, and those of Debelle, who were to turn the position of Trois Rivières and attack it in the rear, were detained on their way in crossing streams which the rain had swollen into torrents, and by the badness of the roads. While the French column was thus struggling against a thousand obstacles, Maurepas concentrated all his forces and attacked it with impetuosity while it was threading its way through a narrow defile between two mountains. Maurepas threw all his energies into the moment, and such was the fury of the assault that the French found themselves obliged to give way, and they retreated to Port de Paix.

While a single ray of encouragement was beaming upon the cause of Toussaint from these successes of Maurepas at Port de Paix, reverses fell thick and fast upon his arms in other parts of the island. Jean Rabel surrendered itself to the French. The frigate *Furieuse* was received at the Mole St. Nicholas amid acclamations of joy, and it entered the port under salutes of artillery both from the forts and town. Christophe, pressed upon

his flank both by Desfourneaux and Rochambeau, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat from Ennery—an event which drove him still farther from the plain of Cape Francois.

These misfortunes obliged Toussaint to fall back on Gonaives, which was soon after burnt to the ground upon the advance of Desfourneaux, who fell upon the place before Toussaint could arrange his personal effects or make his preparations for its abandonment. He fled beyond the river Ester; but here he was intercepted in his flight by the advance of Rochambeau's corps by way of Ennery, and he now retreated by night to a barren tract of country called Lacroix, and made a stand at a narrow pass overhung by steep mountains covered with a thick growth of wood—a place which commands the approach to Petit Riviere. Here he concentrated all his forces and prepared for a general battle. The woods swarmed with blacks, who were stationed behind trees or entrenched to the teeth behind piles of logs. At daybreak on the 24th of February the van of Rochambeau's column came up, and was held in check for some time by Toussaint in his strong position, who wished to gain delay in order that the mulatto general Vernet might have time to join him from the Ester with his family and effects. When the main body of the French came up the order was given to attack the negroes, and the French troops rushed upon the steep position, climbing the precipices and fighting man to man. Toussaint maintained himself for a few minutes, but after a severe struggle his forces were driven from the defile toward Petit Riviere—leaving eight hundred of their number dead upon the field. But Toussaint did not utterly fail of success in the conflict, as he had maintained his resistance long enough to allow Gen. Vernet to join him with his family; and he directed them to proceed to the mountains of Cahos, while he himself retreated to the plantation Curiote, in the plain of the river Artibonite.\*

In consequence of information now received by Gen. Leclerc that Maurepas still continued to maintain himself against the united forces of Humbert and Debelle, orders were given to Gen. Desfourneaux to countermarch by way

\* Metral.

of the defile of Trois Rivières and attack the forces of the black general in their rear. Maurepas thus saw himself surrounded and without support or a hope of retreat, and at the time that he found himself in this situation he was informed of the defeat of Toussaint at Lacroix and his retreat before Rochambeau upon Petit Rivière. The cause of Toussaint appearing thus desperate, he offered to submit to the French on the condition that he should be permitted to share in the benefits offered in the proclamation of Gen. Leclerc, of preserving his grade in case of his joining the standard of those against whom he had made so gallant a resistance. This offer was accepted with readiness, and Maurepas at the head of his black troops joined Gen. Leclerc at Gros Morne. This unexpected surrender did more to ruin the hopes of Toussaint than all the misfortunes in the field which the latter had yet received. The defection of such a man as Maurepas not only threw a chill over the mind of Toussaint, which deadened his energies, but it undermined the very foundation of his power, by destroying the witchery of his influence over the blacks, in which since the annihilation of almost all his forces in the field his only resource consisted.

Gen. Boudet at Port au Prince, after having detached half of his division to carry the arms of France into the province of the South, found it necessary to limit his operations, and practise every precaution to secure what he had already gained. His fears and suspicions had been awakened by the instructions contained in a letter from Toussaint which had been intercepted on its way to Dessalines. This was filled with urgent demands that Dessalines should cut off the resources of the enemy by burning Port au Prince; and it was suggested that this object might be accomplished by sending some secret agent to set fire to the town, or by watching a favorable moment, when the French were most of them out of the place, to make an inroad from the plain, and accomplish the proposed object. The instructions continued: "Nothing must be left for sustenance to the invaders—the dead bodies of men and horses must be thrown into the wells and springs, and every means of support be destroyed or burnt." Another letter, written to Gen. Damage at Jer-

emie, is characteristic of the inflexible nature of Toussaint, who having now involved himself in war with the invaders, and thus set his life upon a cast, was now resolved to leave nothing undone to secure the chances of the war. "The French," said he, "and the whites of the colony would tear from us our liberty. A multitude of ships of war have anchored on our coast, and a numerous army has just seized upon Cape Francois, Port Republican and Fort Liberté. The Cape after a vigorous resistance has been forced at last to yield, but the enemy has found nothing but ashes where it stood. The forts are blown up and every thing is burnt. Port Republican has been delivered to the enemy through the treason of Gen. Ogé, Fort Bizoton giving itself up without firing a gun. The situation of Jeremie is important, and you will defend it with your usual courage. Distrust the whites—they will betray you if they can. Doubt it not, all their wishes tend to the re-establishment of slavery. I have given orders to Gen. Laplume to burn the town of Aux Cayes, and all the plantations in that vicinity if the enemy cannot be withstood. I count entirely upon you. I give you full power. Do all that you can to break the yoke which threatens us."

Gen. Leclerc had announced at the opening of the campaign that Gonaives was to be the point of union where all the several divisions of the French army were to effect a junction: and to coöperate with this general movement Gen. Boudet put his troops in motion to establish a communication with the commander-in-chief by marching on St. Marks, the only important place along that coast not already in the power of the French. The forces in garrison at Arcahaie had orders to make their way by land through the mountain defiles between that place and St. Marks, while those at Port au Prince were transported by water upon the point of their destination. The detachment which proceeded by land from Arcahaie found itself involved in many skirmishes from the nature of the country which lay in the line of its march; and it suffered greatly for water in the arid tract through which it had to make its way.

The two detachments at length formed a junction at a little distance from St. Marks, and Gen. Boudet found it

necessary to make a halt in order to refresh his troops. At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 22d of February the French resumed their march upon the town. Hardly had the troops quitted their bivouac when the darkness of the night was illuminated by a pyramid of flames which shot up in their front, and glared more and more vividly as they approached nearer the town. Dessalines was here in person, and he had prepared every thing to enkindle a speedy conflagration on the approach of an enemy. Brandy, oil and pitch, and barrels of powder had been heaped together in different parts of the town, and these inflammable piles were furnished with trains by which they could be fired at a moment's warning. The residence of Dessalines himself—a house furnished on a scale of princely magnificence at an expense of many millions—had been filled from the cellar to the garret with wood made more combustible by being dipped in pitch. The black chief reserved to himself the honor of giving the first example to the citizens of the town in the sacrifice they were about to make, willingly or by compulsion, of their habitations and property, and he performed his part with an air of solemnity. After distributing torches to his officers he seized one himself and applied it to a pile which had been heaped upon the Place d'Armes of the town, and which was of sufficient magnitude to maintain a fire for two hours. Dessalines next gave the signal to fire the buildings in every street, by thrusting his lighted torch into a mass of pitched wood which was piled up in the porch of his own house, and in another instant the whole town was in flames. Boudet's division immediately hastened its march, but notwithstanding the greatest activity the troops upon their arrival at daybreak within the environs of the town found not a house standing; and when they pressed forward among the smoking ruins they saw not a living creature; but when they arrived at the Place d'Armes they came upon a pile of dead bodies, the remains of two hundred whites and a few mulattoes, of every sex and age, whom Dessalines in his retreat had given over to the ferocity of his followers.

Dessalines had directed himself upon Archaie, with the design of escaping from Boudet's division and falling upon Port au Prince, where the French general had left

an insufficient garrison of but six hundred men, under the command of Gen. Lacroix. The situation of the latter was now one of extreme danger, but he extricated himself from it by availing himself of an unexpected reinforcement which under his guidance became a means of safety. Scarcely had Gen. Boudet's division departed from Port au Prince when that town was threatened with an inroad by a band of maroon negroes from the mountains, who had seized upon that occasion to make a descent from their fastnesses for purposes of pillage. While this horde was hanging on the outskirts of the town intelligence arrived to the French garrison within that a strong detachment of regular black troops was on its march from Grande Riviere to attack that place, and that Dessalines was pressing on from Arcahaie with the same design. There appeared no hope that the feeble garrison under the command of Gen. Lacroix could hold out against this combined movement of these two detachments of blacks, while it was kept in continual dread of an attack from the maroon negroes who were encamped without its suburbs. In this condition of things Gen. Lacroix opened a negotiation with the latter to procure their assistance against the force which was advancing from Grande Riviere upon Port au Prince. The hope of pillage induced the leader of the maroons to consent to this arrangement, and he was dispatched to attack the approaching column in the rear, while the garrison of the place, under Gen. Lacroix, marched out to attack them in front. A murderous conflict was the consequence, and the black detachment which was advancing against the town and which amounted in numbers to a thousand men, was cut in pieces or captured with all its officers. The French hastened back to Port au Prince to defend that place against the forces of Dessalines. A small party was placed in ambuscade without the town to watch the motions of the enemy, and upon the night of the 26th of February as a reconnoitering party detached from the corps of Dessalines had advanced within reach of its guns, a skirmish ensued which proved destructive to the blacks, who, surprised at the readiness of the French to receive them, fled in discouragement without undertaking any thing more than to set fire to a few negro cabins sit-



nated beyond the town. Dessalines now received intelligence of the defeat of the detachment which was to co-operate with him, and despairing of success he fell back upon Mirebalais, filled with rage that he had been thus foiled of his prey, and slaying all the negroes of the plantations that fell into his hands, to avenge himself for the unseasonable intervention of the maroons against him.

Gen. Boudet having penetrated from St. Marks as far as the river Artibonite without gaining any intelligence of Gen. Leclerc, he feared to remain any longer in that section in consequence of his having been apprised of the danger which threatened the garrison of Port au Prince, while he had not been informed of the successes which had dispelled that storm of danger. He determined to return toward Port au Prince, and he was followed thither in a few days by the main body of the French army under the commander-in-chief, who marched into that capital on the first of March, having swept the whole route of the enemy, from Cape Francois to Port au Prince.

The whole country appeared now to be subdued, as the forces of Toussaint were every where captured or dispersed, and the black chieftain had no farther ability to make resistance in any concentrated shape. But the blacks were beaten, not subdued; and though the forces of Toussaint were dispersed and scattered, that black chief was still issuing his commands and preparing to continue the war with the dislocated remnants of his former army. Although the plain of Cape Francois had been swept entirely by the movements of Rochambeau's division, no sooner had the French quitted that coast than the blacks renewed their operations, and the forces which had been left in garrison at Cape Francois and Fort Dauphin were scarcely sufficient to preserve those towns from being recaptured. But the timely occurrence of Maurepas' surrender had left Gen. Leclerc with a large disposable force to pursue Toussaint and drive him from post to post, until he had been compelled to take refuge among the mountains of Cahos. These are a group of wild, uninhabitable mountains, which occupy a tract of country on the frontiers of the French and Spanish territories. They extend over a rugged domain on the right bank of the river Artibonite,—and among their mountain fastnesses Toussaint

had placed his family, and since the flight of Gen. Vernet from Gonaives he had made this place a principal depôt for his arms and munitions of war, and here he had now retreated in person to prepare for his last desperate struggle.

The narrow pass which forms the entrance to these mountains is upon the river Artibonite, and in the midst of this defile there arises a precipitous summit called Crete a Pierrot—upon which a formidable redoubt had been built by the English during their occupation of the country. This fortified eminence had been seized by Toussaint, and he was now engaged in concentrating his forces upon this spot and entrenching himself to make a desperate resistance. The French commander-in-chief on the other hand was employed in arranging his forces to end the war by the capture of Toussaint in this his last retreat.

Desfourneaux's division was left in observation in the plain of Cape Francois, and on the 2d of March Hardy's and Rochambeau's divisions were put in motion toward the post of Crete a Pierrot. The blacks had grown more ferocious than ever, as ill success had baffled their hopes. Six hundred of them fell into the hands of Hardy's forces at a place called Coupe d'Inde, and they were all sacrificed without mercy to the indignation of the French, because their bayonets were still stained with the blood of one hundred whites whom they had murdered a few hours before. Rochambeau's division penetrating into the interior by the left bank of the river Cabœuil was fortunate enough at a place called Morne a Pipe to rescue a great number of whites, who had taken shelter from the dangers around them among the rocks and precipices of the mountains, where they were concealed in terror and destitution.

While these columns were on their march toward the scene of conflict, Gen. Debelle having passed from Port de Paix by way of Gonaives, encountered on the Artibonite the forces of Dessalines. The French charged them immediately and pursued them to the very glacis of Crete a Pierrot, when a storm of cannon and musketry burst upon them from the entrenchments of the negroes, which killed three or four hundred of their number, and among the rest Gen. Debelle, the French commander. After

this imprudence, which had been so severely punished, the French column fell back and took up a position in the rear of Crete a Pierrot. When Gen. Leclerc had been informed of this check he dispatched part of Boudet's division from Port au Prince under Gen. Lacroix, to reinforce the troops of Debelle, while another part of the same division was ordered to march upon Mirebalais, where it seized upon Trianon, a strong post in that district memorable for a succession of attacks made upon it by the English. Henin, the commander of the French detachment which carried this post, had opened a battery upon it from an elevated spot situate within cannon shot of the place—but the first shots did not even intimidate the blacks, who at first began to sing and dance, and then rushed forward to take the cannon from the artillerists, crying out in their exultation, "Come on, you see we have the cannon:" but their taunts were soon exchanged for yells of despair; for another French battalion opened upon their crowded masses a destructive fire of grape, which threw into disorder and affright all of them who were not killed by the first discharge. Orders were then given by the French commander to charge, and the troops entered the fortress at the point of the bayonet, having lost but fifty men, while of the negroes there had perished four times that number. After the capture of Trianon the blacks fled toward Crete a Pierrot, and Henin's detachment found no enemy in its route through Mirebalais, though in accordance with Toussaint's general system of defence every habitation was left in ashes, and two or three hundred whites were found massacred by Dessalines upon the plantation Chivry.

On the 9th of March Gen. Boudet's division arrived at Verrettes, and among the ashes of that town the remains of a carnage still more horrible were disclosed. It was the ghastly spectacle of eight hundred dead bodies of whites, all of whom had been murdered on the evening before by the orders of Dessalines. Neither age nor sex had found favor in the sight of this monster, and the dead bodies of his victims even preserved the attitudes which they had assumed in their last moments. Many were found with the air and in the position of those kneeling and uttering prayers, with the hands extended to

gesture to their supplications; and the pangs of death had not effaced the expression of their physiognomy, which still bespoke supplication and grief. Girls with the marks of the bayonet in their bosoms still retained the appearance and attitude in which they had made their last petitions for safety of their mothers, and the arms of those mothers were torn and lacerated as they had attempted to preserve their infants from being destroyed by the savages. The bodies of young men were found lying in advance of those who had the appearance of being their fathers, and the former seemed to have been pierced by a blow which had been intended for the latter. There were young women who had died embracing in their arms their fathers or husbands, and friends and families could still be distinguished holding each other by the hand. Many had been killed in each others' embrace, and still preserved in death that attitude of their affection. While gazing upon this scene of horror the grief of the French for their murdered countrymen was soon changed to feelings of impatient indignation, which burned to revenge the slaughter of these victims of negro ferocity. The soldiers could scarcely be restrained within the limits of a prudent discipline, especially when a party of the blacks had the boldness to fire upon one of their detachments while gazing in speechless horror at the scene of carnage before them. With an ardor which was as irrepressible as their hatred, the French soldiers turned immediately in pursuit, and the blacks, confounded at such unexpected eagerness to engage them, were thrown into such panic that great numbers of them were overtaken and put to death on the spot.\*

It had become a custom among the French troops, rendered necessary by this guerilla service, to encamp with every precaution, as if continually in the presence of an enemy. After the forces had returned from their pursuit of the blacks, who had been hovering around them at Verrettes, they had hardly bivouacked, according to their custom, in a square with the cavalry and camp equipage in the centre, and with the advancing darkness the videttes had but just returned, when all of a sudden the sound of a trumpet was heard without the lines, and this was quickly

\* Lacroix.

followed by the arrival of a black officer of Toussaint's forces, who demanded to speak with the commanding general. This unexpected personage was one of Toussaint's horse guards, and he was at the head of a detachment of twenty blacks, all superbly mounted and equipped, who, disgusted at the savage atrocities of their brethren, had come to join the ranks of the French. Through this body of deserters the intelligence was obtained that Toussaint was still at Crete a Pierrot, which it was said was his last hope, as when he had been driven from that post nothing would remain to him but to become a fugitive in the mountains. The black officer stated that the detachment of horse guards to which he had belonged had been stationed as a corps of observation upon the left bank of the Artibonite, and appointed to watch the movements of the French in the direction of St. Marks and Verrettes—that his captain was a ferocious savage, who had on the night previous massacred a multitude of whites of both sexes at Petit Riviere—that indignant at being associated with such a wretch he had formed the resolution to join the French upon the earliest opportunity, and his being ordered upon duty near the outposts about Verrettes had enabled him to carry his resolve into execution. Gen. Boudet, counting upon the readiness with which negroes can be induced to act against each other, particularly when any feelings of revenge actuate them in their hostility, made the proposal to this black officer to seize the person of his captain, against whom he ceased not to give vent to his hatred in a torrent of bitter execrations. The new recruit accepted with joy the plan to fall upon his late chief at midnight and attempt his capture; and he set out upon his adventure without a moment's delay. Early the next morning the black officer with his detachment returned to the French encampment, having with them the captain against whom the expedition had been planned. The latter pretended that he also had deserted from the cause of Toussaint; but he was conducted to the quarters of Gen. Boudet for examination. When it was demanded of him how many whites he had slain the day previous the wily negro saw whither the affair was tending, and he threw himself from his horse to escape. Gen. Boudet was the first to observe

this movement, and he sprung to seize him—but the negro bit him with such severity that he was compelled to loose his hold, and the black escaped, gliding under the horses and overthrowing those whom he encountered in his way, until he arrived at the bank of the river, into which he plunged and swam across amidst a shower of balls. He did not seem wounded until he reached the opposite bank, when he fell suddenly as if his thigh had been broken. At this instant a party of blacks coming down from the heights which overlooked the French encampment at Verrettes, began a skirmish with the advance posts, and the fate of the black captain could not be sought for until this was ended, when only traces of blood were found where he had been seen to fall.\*

On the night of the 10th of March Gen. Boudet put his troops in motion, and leaving Verrettes they forded the Artibonite at a place opposite the plantation Labadie. Gen. Boudet had given the command of the column during this march to the mulatto general Petion, who had just arrived from France. "In the dead silence of the hour," says Lacroix, "I could hear the murmurs of our black grenadiers at the head of the column, who were complaining that they had to sustain the fire of the enemy's parties in ambuscade. 'Wretches,' said Petion, 'are you not honored to be placed in the van of the column? Be silent and follow me.'"

The French troops continued their march throughout the night over difficult roads and through intricate by-paths, in which they were guided by the overseers of the plantations in that vicinity, and they had arrived at day-break within cannon shot of Crete a Pierrot. The march had been performed in such silence that the blacks were completely surprised, and while they were all asleep both within and without their entrenchments the French rushed upon them with the bayonet, without waiting to fire a gun. The negroes, terrified at being awaked out of their sleep by such an opposition, ran with all their might toward their fortress, closely pursued by the French soldiers, and those who could not gain the heights of Crete a Pierrot threw themselves for shelter into the deep gul-lies at the water's edge, where they were also ferretted out by their pursuers.

\* Lacroix

But no sooner had the blacks secured themselves within their fortress than they prepared to put in execution the same means which had proved so effectual to them in the attack made by Debelle. No sooner had the French formed beneath the fort than the blacks opened upon them a galling fire, which threw them into confusion and made success in the attack impossible. Gen. Boudet was himself wounded in the heel by a cannon shot, and compelled to give up the command to Gen. Lacroix.

The attack made by Gen. Boudet's column was to be simultaneous with that made by another division coming in from Petit Riviere : but Boudet's division was already defeated before the other made its appearance, and this arrived only to be defeated in its turn. Gen. Dugua, its commander, while hastening to the attack at the head of his column was wounded by two balls, and obliged to retire from the field, leaving Gen. Lacroix the only general officer remaining to take the command. The French had by this time been thrown into such disorder that their appearance was no longer imposing, and the blacks issued out of their works to pursue them. Indignant at this audacity the French troops turned to charge them with the bayonet, and they pursued them until they had arrived again to their former position under the fortress, when the negroes renewed their fire upon them. The French found the attempt to carry the post by escalade to be impossible, and Gen. Lacroix, to end these useless efforts, which were attended by such sacrifice of human life, collected his wounded and fell back behind Petit Riviere, where he was joined by Gen. Leclerc, who while issuing his orders was wounded in the body and obliged to be carried off the field.

This second attack upon Crete a Pierrot was attended with a loss to the French of nearly a thousand men, who fell during the successive attacks of Boudet's and Dugua's divisions. This failure, as in the case of Debelle's attack, arose more from undervaluing the capabilities of the position than from any new superiority in arms on the part of the blacks. The French had seen the negroes fly before them in their every day conflicts, and they presumptuously supposed that a place which nature had made almost impregnable would not be able to resist their prowess when

manned by a race that they esteemed so lightly. Instead of wasting themselves in this unequal strife they now drew off their forces to refresh them after such laborious service, and wait for the arrival of Hardy's and Rochambeau's divisions.

Hardy had swept the mountains of Cahos towards the North, and at Nolo he had encountered a detachment of blacks retiring from Crete a Pierrot under Dessalines. A skirmish immediately ensued, in which Dessalines lost one hundred men and was driven beyond the mountains, and cut off from all communication with the fortress in his rear. Rochambeau's division, after encountering a thousand obstacles, had passed the mountains of Cahos and arrived at Mirebalais, where it received orders to march upon Crete a Pierrot by the right bank of the Artibonite. On the 22d of March this division arrived before the fortress, and assumed a position in advance of Rac a Baches, with its left upon the river Artibonite and its right supported by Hardy's division. The investment of Crete a Pierrot was now finished by placing the divisions of Hardy and Dugua in advance of Petit Riviere. Upon the right of Hardy's line there lay the bodies of two hundred whites, who had been murdered fifteen days before by order of Dessalines. Not having sufficient tools to dig a trench for such a number, the French undertook to burn them, but the bodies were not all consumed, and in the heat of such a climate the stench was insupportable.

The investment of Crete a Pierrot was now regular, and the lines were drawn under the direction of the general of engineers, Bachelier, who had served in the army of Egypt, and insisted upon the employment of caution in making attacks upon entrenched barbarians. Batteries were erected in front of each of the divisions, and bombs were thrown directly into the fort. Rochambeau having silenced a work situate upon the summit of the height undertook to carry it by escalade; but he failed in the attempt and was obliged to retreat with a loss of three hundred men. Thus this insulated precipice, defended by little more than a thousand negroes, had already cost the French the destruction of fifteen hundred men.

All attempts to carry the place by assault having utterly failed, the attack was changed into a regular siege, and a



cannonade was carried on by the French batteries both day and night. "In making my rounds on the morning of the 24th of March," says Gen. Lacroix, "I discovered a French officer whipping an old negro, said to have proceeded from the fort. The old man denied this charge, sobbing all the while; and he appeared to be sightless, as nothing appeared but the whites of his eyes. He assured me that he was blind, and I pitied him, and interposed to have him treated with more lenity. The officer, who knew the nature of negroes, begged me not to trust him, as his experience taught him to believe that he was a spy of Toussaint. I considered him too stupid for that employment, and urged that he should be set loose. He appeared so wounded by the blows that had been given him that he could scarcely move, and only started from the spot when threatened with being shot. He passed the sentinels at a slow and painful pace, when all of a sudden he sprung upright and began to dance; and when soon after Gen. Salmé assured me that he had seen him enter the fort I could doubt no longer that he was a spy."

Toussaint and Dessalines had long before this escaped from the post of Crete a Pierrot, and left its command to the mulatto general Lamartiniere, and this chief now saw the impracticability of holding out much longer against the force which was hemming him in on all sides; and preparations were accordingly begun among the blacks to evacuate the fort by cutting a way through the ranks of the French. The latter received intelligence that this attack on their lines would be made on the night of the 24th of March, and every thing was prepared for the occasion. At 8 o'clock the blacks issued from their fortress and made an attempt to pass the lines of Gen. Lacroix; but here they were received with a brisk fire, which drove them back to effect a passage on the extreme left of Rochambeau's division. "The commander of Crete a Pierrot," says Gen. Lacroix, "who conceived and executed the retreat of the garrison of that place, performed a prodigy. Twelve thousand French surrounded him, and he nevertheless saved himself without losing half his garrison." He was a quarteroon, and the same officer who had shot Gen. Lacombe in the council of war at Port au Prince because the latter would not give up the keys

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of the arsenal which he was suspected of keeping for the French. The blacks made their escape without much fighting, and the fortress which they had so well defended remained for the occupation of the French. In it were found the baggage of Dessalines—some whites who had served as artillerists—the musicians of Toussaint's guard—powder—a great number of muskets and fifteen cannon.

The capture of this place had been attended with the only severe service which the troops of Leclerc had as yet experienced since their arrival, if we except the operation of Humbert and Debelle against Maurepas at Port de Paix. The negroes had now drawn the French into their own chosen ground for warfare, and among the precipitous pathways and narrow defiles of the mountain regions the French found new difficulties at every step, and the negroes were able to make the formations of nature subservient to their defence or concealment. That Gen. Leclerc was sensible of these obstacles to his speedy success in subduing the country, is evident from a communication dispatched by him at this time to the First Consul. "One must have seen the country," he writes, "to form a just idea of the difficulties which present themselves at every step. I have never found obstacles even among the Alps equal to those which I have to encounter here every where."\*

During the siege of Crete a Pierrot the name of Toussaint had been continually heard as the presiding genius among the blacks of the fort, but he had not been there. He had passed through the mountain defiles which separate the Artibonite from St. Michel, and fallen upon Ennery in the North, driving the French detachment which was in the position there upon Gonaives. He was laboring to make a diversion in favor of Crete a Pierrot. He hovered over Gonaives but without attempting an attack upon that town, and he returned to Marmelade, where he had a secret depôt of arms and munitions. While the French were busily occupied at Crete a Pierrot he fell upon Gen. Desfourneaux at Plaisance; but the latter, assisted as he was by Maurepas, succeeded in making head against him, and in saving the district where he commanded from being given up to fire and devastation. After

\* Malo.

this repulse Toussaint posted himself at Dondon and Marmelade, in order to cut off the communication between the different divisions of the French army, which during the active employment of the French at Crête a Pierrot had become interrupted.

Gen. Leclerc now resumed his other operations. Rochambeau received orders to form a junction with troops of Gen. Desfourneaux in the North, by marching upon Gonaives, while Hardy's division proceeded directly to Cape Francois by way of St. Michel and the Spanish frontier. Although Toussaint had become so reduced that he could no longer make head against the French in the field, he was, nevertheless, very far from being subdued; and while the French, after having been subjected to immense losses to capture a barren fortress were now wearing out their energies by a service which left them no rest by day or by night, he was traversing the country in all directions without being cut off in his retreats or surprised in his marches. To maintain a continual harassment of the enemy without coming to a general battle was the system which he had now adopted, and which he knew from past experience would end in the exhaustion and destruction of European troops employed in such a climate. He had been driven from all his positions along the coast, and his army had been reduced both by desertion and the sword; but the nature of the territory in which he now sustained himself, and the constitution and habitudes of his negro forces so accustomed to the climate and the mode of warfare which he had now adopted, were resources to Toussaint by which he had hopes of ultimate triumph notwithstanding all his defeats. "Leave them no rest by day or night, and they will be overcome without a single blow," was an expression of the black chief which proved the depth of his foresight. He was now actively engaged in rallying to his standard a host of negroes from the plantations, who were thronging to him from all points in consequence of a report that had been industriously spread, that the French had been entirely defeated at Crête a Pierrot.

When it became known to Toussaint that Hardy's division was penetrating to the North by way of St. Michel, he gathered all his forces to harass its march, while Chris-

tophe was recalled from Grande Riviere to attack it in front; and at Dondon the French were furiously assailed both by Christophe in front and Toussaint in the rear. The negroes were readily repulsed at the point of the bayonet—but one horde had scarcely been driven back before another succeeded to take its place, and allow the French no leisure in their march. The whole country seemed in arms, and the French detachment, overwhelmed with numbers and worn down with perpetual exertion gradually became a confused mass of fugitives hurrying to the Cape. The fighting was incessant, as from every crag and defile swarms of blacks appeared, to pour in a deadly fire upon the division, and before it reached Cape Francois Hardy's corps had lost four or five hundred men by this guerilla mode of warfare.

Gen. Boudet's division was ordered to march upon St. Marks to attack a force of blacks who under Charles Belair composed a sort of army of observation upon the heights of Matheux. After a fatiguing march over a tract of country which was almost impassable, this division arrived at last before Matheux—but Charles Belair had evacuated that post upon the evening previous to form a junction with Dessalines in the mountains of Cahos. The French general wrote to him, proposing to him to follow the examples of Clervaux, Paul Louverture and Maurepas, who had already abandoned the cause of Toussaint; and he offered to him the assurance of Gen. Leclerc that he should still retain his military grade in the ranks of the French army. To this proposal the black general returned for answer, that he blindly obeyed the orders of Toussaint Louverture, who had been recognized as governor for life by the constitution of the country—a dignity to which he was justly entitled by services which France seemed to have forgotten. Five or six hundred persons were found by the French of Boudet's division in concealment among the rocks and precipices of Matheux, who, to escape the cruelty of the blacks, had fled thither from St. Marks, Arcahaie and the surrounding parts. A thousand people were found by the troops of Hardy and Rochambeau in shelter among the mountains of Cahos, and a vast number of horses and mules, which had been collected at Matheux for the use of Toussaint, fell into the hands of the French.

Boudet's division continued its march towards Port au Prince, where upon its arrival it made a studied display of its numbers and effectiveness, to conceal from the blacks a knowledge of the losses which it had sustained since its departure from that place a few months before. Hardy's division arrived at Cape Francois thinned in numbers and fatigued and dispirited; but the arrival of fresh troops from Europe gave it leisure to recover its energies and make preparations for a new campaign.

The French were not long in resuming operations, and Christophe was soon compelled to flee in his turn; and discouraged at this new reinforcement and the prospect of new triumphs to the armies of the French, he began to despair for the cause in which he had embarked, and to make preparations to abandon it. He wrote to Gen. Leclerc, demanding of him what assurance would be given for the safety of himself and his followers in case they should cease from their resistance and surrender themselves to the French. He was answered in general terms by the French commander-in-chief, that the conditions would be made easy, and such as would insure his approbation. Christophe, however, fearful as he was that he might be called to an account for the destruction of Cape Francois, would make no stipulations until he had received a written guarantee that his own safety should be secure. He then sent a message to Gen. Leclerc that he was ready to obey his orders. He was in consequence requested to report himself with his forces at the Haut du Cap, and to dismiss to their homes all the laborers upon the plantations who were included in his ranks. Christophe readily obeyed, and came to the place designated with a force of twelve hundred negroes, and these were followed by two thousand more, who had remained concealed under his protection among the mountains of the interior.

The defection of Christophe soon brought about the submission of Dessalines, who was also discouraged at the arrival of new reinforcements, adding so greatly to the resources of the French as to make all farther resistance a hopeless struggle without the possibility of success. Toussaint was now left alone with a few hundred followers only, and he saw that he must yield to his destiny. He determined to make the negotiations for his surrender

through Gen. Sabes, the French officer who had been sent ashore at Port au Prince, and had been detained a prisoner by Dessalines, together with the naval officer and boat's crew that had accompanied him to land. These men had been dragged from mountain to mountain in the various retreats and advances of the blacks who had them in custody, and twenty times they had been in imminent danger of being murdered. During the massacre of the whites at Petit Riviere, which had taken place before their eyes, they had been saved from a similar fate but by the exertions of the priest of that parish, who had covered them with the sacred vessels of the church and guarded them from the fierce vengeance of the blacks with a courage altogether superhuman. After this they had been exposed to death amidst other scenes of carnage; and they would have fallen with the other victims had they not been protected by the fidelity and courage of the guard of honor appointed for them, who had often to make use of their arms in their defence. Toussaint complained to M. Sabes of the critical nature of his situation, and he received little comfort from the answer of that officer, who informed him that the war would never have arisen if he had not disobeyed the orders of France. Toussaint at this cast upon him a look of astonishment without deigning to make a reply to his remark; but turning to the naval officer, "You are aware, monsieur," said he, "that in case you have command of a public vessel, and another, without apprizing you of his intentions comes to remove you by jumping aboard upon the fore-castle with another crew that doubles your own in numbers, you cannot be blamed for attempting to defend yourself upon the quarter deck. This is my situation in regard to France."

After this short interview the French officers were dispatched with a letter to Gen. Leclerc, proposing on the part of Toussaint to terminate a war which was without an object and seemed likely to have no end. "Circumstances," continued the letter, "have occasioned much evil to the country, but whatever may be the resources of the French army I shall always be strong enough to burn and ravage, and to sell my life dear, however serviceable it may once have been to the mother country." The

number of persons who had been murdered by the blacks without having been engaged in hostilities already amounted to three thousand : and though the odium of this wanton cruelty was thrown upon Dessalines it was in reality due to the reckless policy of Toussaint. All the whites about the person of the latter had fallen by the bayonets of his followers, with the single exception of M. Vallée, and this person had been shot before his eyes in a moment of irritation and afterwards buried with the honors of war, a monument being erected over the grave by Toussaint. Leclerc felt impressed that Toussaint should be made responsible for all the massacres of whites which had taken place since the French invasion ; for he knew that Dessalines was but an agent of his superior in committing these barbarities ; but the French commander-in-chief had already encountered obstacles which had discouraged him, and more than five thousand of his troops had already been sacrificed in a service from which nothing had as yet been gained. He therefore consented the more readily to enter into negotiations with Toussaint, as the evil he had already done was but little to what he might yet accomplish, surrounded as he was by a formidable horde of blacks, in a part of the island where he could profit by every opportunity to carry devastation into the open country.

To the message of Toussaint Gen. Leclerc sent a ready reply, offering pardon to the black chief and all his troops in case of their submission,—stating that the past should be forgotten and thenceforward but two classes be acknowledged in St. Domingo—those who were good or bad citizens ; and the letter ended in the following strain : “ I shall treat your troops as the rest of my army. As to you, general, you desire leisure, and you are right. When a man has sustained for many years the burden of government in such a country as St. Domingo I readily believe he has need of repose. I grant you permission to retire to either of your estates, as shall please you best. I have sufficient confidence in your wishes for the welfare of the colony to believe that you will employ your moments of leisure in communicating your opinions as to the best measures for the prosperity of agriculture and commerce.” To this letter there was appended a decree

revoking the proclamation of outlawry which had been published against Toussaint and Christophe.

The submission of Toussaint was a fortunate event to the French army, as there is little doubt that if the blacks had maintained their resistance for a few weeks longer their fortunes would have been placed beyond the power of Leclerc. At the time when negotiations were in progress for the surrender of Toussaint the French had already lost five thousand men, and had as many more in their hospitals sick or wounded; so that of twenty-five thousand men who had been dispatched to St. Domingo under Gen. Leclerc there remained but few more than twelve thousand who were now able to do service in the field; and these were so much exhausted by hard duty that they were hardly sufficient to patrol the country or form the garrisons of posts necessary to be maintained.

Gen. Leclerc at the request of the governor of Guadeloupe now dispatched Gen. Boudet to that island, and replaced him in the command of the southern provinces by Gen. Rochambeau, who was a stern old Creole, dreaded by the negroes, and hated by the mulattoes for a letter which he had once written from Philadelphia, in which he descanted with severity upon the characters of that race in St. Domingo, affirming that they were more vicious and less brave, sober or grateful than the class of blacks. Soon after his arrival at Port au Prince Rigaud came back once more from France, and he was received tremblingly by the whites of the South, but exultingly by the mulattoes, and four hundred respectable individuals of that class, who upon the downfall of Toussaint had just returned from St. Jago de Cuba, hastened in a body to pay their respects to Rigaud. This occurrence awakened the jealousy of Rochambeau, and he hastened to represent to Gen. Leclerc the danger which might result from Rigaud's influence in the then unsettled condition of the country. Toussaint complained also of the honorable reception which had been accorded to his great rival, whom he accused of being his inveterate enemy. Gen. Leclerc, beset with these exhortations, which he ought to have spurned from him as the incendiary machinations of the envious, sent an order to Rigaud to return to France. This arbitrary command spread terror and grief in the



ranks of the mulattoes, who saw their favorite chief insulted, and found that notwithstanding their ambitious aspirations they had now no influence in the state, as the struggle for dominion resided solely between the whites and blacks. Petion, the friend of Rigaud and Leclerc, exclaimed when he had been informed of the order for the departure of the former, "Alas that he should have come to witness our grief, as well as to suffer in his own person by this blow."

Gen. Lacroix being now ordered to leave Rochambeau's division at Port au Prince, in order to take upon himself the command in the department of Cibao, thus describes the appearance of Dessalines at Cape Francois. "I saw many general officers of our army pass along without receiving any manifestations of respect from either the blacks or mulattoes; but all at once I heard a bustle—it was caused by the approach, of Dessalines, who was on his way to pay his salutations to Gen. Leclerc for the first time. A multitude of every sex and age followed him or prostrated themselves before him. I was saddened and indignant, and sombre and painful ideas haunted me until my arrival at the quarters of the commander-in-chief. When I had arrived there I found Dessalines in the antechamber, and horror restrained me from approaching him. He requested to know who I was. He came up to me, and without looking me in the face said in a hoarse voice, 'I am Gen. Dessalines, and while the times were less happy I have heard much of you.' His bearing and manners were brutal and savage, and his words had in them more assurance than remorse—and to have assumed this attitude he must have felt that he stood strong. I could not without much effort be polite, for I remembered the scenes of Verrettes and Petit Riviere."

Toussaint had just before this come to pay his respects to Gen. Leclerc, and the people of Cape Francois lavished upon him every demonstration of the most devoted reverence and honor. He came with four hundred mounted guides, who, during his interview with Gen. Leclerc awaited his return in the yard of the government house. After the black chiefs had given their oath of fidelity to the new order of things permission was granted them to retire to their estates. Toussaint demanded to be allow-

ed to fix himself upon his plantation near Gonaives, and Dessalines retired to one in the vicinity of St. Marks. The submission of these two chiefs placed the whole island in the peaceable possession of the French; but it had been desolated by war, and hopes of present sustenance from the soil were utterly void. The plantations which had been rebuilt and restored to cultivation during the administration of Toussaint, had, by his destructive system of warfare, been given to the flames, and a dearth was now the consequence. The troops of Toussaint had not yet been disbanded, and the French were compelled to furnish them with provisions, as well as their own forces. What the sword had failed to destroy, famine now threatened to effect; and in this dreary exigence the French were driven to have recourse to the other islands. The Spaniards yielded to their solicitations for succor, but the peace of Amiens had been already broken, and the English refused to furnish supplies to those whom they regarded as enemies. Toussaint in retiring from his power had rewarded each of his generals by making them chiefs of a demi-brigade, to hold rank in the island, and thus he kept alive the organization of his former military strength. Leclerc saw the dangerous tendency of thus leaving behind the seeds of another defiance to his power, and he ordered that the troops of Toussaint should be incorporated with his own; but it was found that many difficulties interposed themselves against this arrangement. The French officers refused to submit to an order which made negroes their comrades, and every one foresaw and dreaded the consequences of scattering the black regiments as idlers and vagabonds through the country; and to prevent some of these dangers, so likely to arise from such an arrangement, the different corps of blacks were detached from each other and sent on separate duties among the different posts which were chiefly manned by French troops. The influence of the black chiefs was put in requisition to restore the negroes to the plantations, and make the labors of agriculture serve them for employment instead of the disorders of war. In spite of the ravages which had been spread so far and wide through the destructive system of defence which had been adopted by Toussaint, the lands were soon revived to new productive-

ness; and upon the re-establishment of order and peace foreign vessels began again to visit the ports of the island to exchange their cargoes for its productions. The South had not suffered much devastation, and when tranquillity had been restored its prosperity revived in a proportion far exceeding that which was opening upon the North.

In the midst of this quiet return to a condition which gave hope to the future, a new enemy arose to overwhelm the island, whose destructiveness was not to be resisted by the sword. Nearly at the same time, the yellow fever began its ravages among the French troops, both at Cape Francois and Port au Prince, and from its first fearful onset its character was so fatal as to threaten the whole army with annihilation. The victims of the disease were expiring hourly, and it was found necessary that carts should pass throughout the place at the hour of midnight to receive the dead bodies, which were left in every street at the doors of the houses. Amidst the panic excited by this mortality the bustle of life was dumb. Dread of infection stifled all sympathy, and made men regardless of the fate of others so long as they remained untouched and in security. While this infliction was adding to the sensitive terrors of the French, rumors and suspicions were darkly spread that the deep and all-pervading influence of Toussaint was not unemployed among his race—particularly when it was reported from mouth to mouth among the French that it had been asserted by the blacks that their submission was but a suspension of hostilities until the month of August. A breath will quiver the leaf that hangs by a thread, though a sturdy blast may not shake it when secure in its position. The month of August had become an epoch in St. Domingo, from its more certain fatality to Europeans and other strangers than other months of the year, and it was first feared and then believed that the expected development of fever among the French was to be the signal of another insurrection of the blacks, to rival the first in all things but in the extent of its horrors. The French doubted the designs of Toussaint, from the concealment about Ennery of eighteen hundred men, who had once been the guards of the black general. Two letters also had been intercepted, written by him to his former aid-de-camp and secret agent at Cape

Francois. One of them was filled with invectives against Christophe and Dessalines, and these were followed by expressions of satisfaction that Providence had at last come to their aid—(Providence being the name of the principal hospital at Cape François.) It was demanded how many voyages were made each night to Fossette, a cemetery where the French burnt their dead; and it was added, that information should be given immediately in case Gen. Leclerc fell sick. The other letter was a tissue of ambiguous expressions in the quaint style of the negro dialect of the country, and they seemed to relate chiefly to some preparations, advising where to bring the flour, &c.

Before the evidence of these letters was obtained, it had been observed that Clervaux, Christophe and Maurepas had manifested much anxiety lest the destructiveness of disease among the French troops might be seized upon by Toussaint as an occasion to resume his power, and call them to an account for treating without his orders. They even proposed that he should be transported from the island, that harm might not come to them from the vengeance of a man at whose name they trembled, and whose influence was still sufficient to make the dominion of the French in St. Domingo a problem which time alone could solve. This conduct of the black chiefs, which seemed to result from a secret sympathy with the cunning of their race—the letters which seemed to confirm what was before strongly suspicious—and the advice received from all quarters to give activity to his own fears, urged Gen. Leclerc to the policy of removing a man from the country whose name alone was a terror; and whose indomitable spirit might yet seize upon an occasion to embroil the island and perpetuate war.

The district of Ennery was crowded with French troops, partly through accident and partly through design. At this, as had been foreseen, Toussaint complained, and he demanded their removal. Gen. Brunet, the French commander, answered him with the assurance that he would with pleasure yield to his wishes, but he first wished to know from him, as one best acquainted in that respect, what place should be selected whither to remove the troops, and at the same time secure their health. This appeal to his aid in a case of difficulty flattered Toussaint,

who, blinded by vanity, lost sight of his usual circumspection and ran into the net prepared for him. "See the whites," exclaimed he, "they doubt nothing, know every thing, but have to come nevertheless to consult old Toussaint." He answered Gen. Brunet that he would hold the proposed consultation at the plantation Georges, at a little distance from Gonaives, where he would appear accompanied by twenty of his followers. The French general when he had received this reply proceeded immediately with the same number of attendants, to join Toussaint at the place appointed for the interview. After the first salutations were over both of them shut themselves up to begin the deliberations, and the soldiers of each were left to stroll about the house. All at once at a concerted signal the French attendants fell upon those of Toussaint and disarmed them. At the same moment Ferrari, aid-de-camp to Leclerc, burst into the presence of Toussaint, and announced to him—"General, the captain-general has given me the order to arrest you—your guards are in custody—our troops surround the house, and if you make any resistance you die; you are no longer invested with power in St. Domingo—give me your sword." Toussaint gave it up without uttering a remonstrance, and seemed more confounded at the suddenness of his capture than indignant at being thus deprived of his personal liberty. He was conducted to Gonaives, and placed aboard the Creole frigate, which had been ordered round from Cape Francois to receive him after his capture; and while he was proceeding aboard he spoke to Ferrari the memorable words: "In my overthrow nothing is cut down but the trunk of the tree of liberty among the blacks of St. Domingo—it will survive in its roots, which are deep and numerous."

The embarkation was made at midnight, Gen. Leclerc having granted the request of the prisoner to be joined by his wife and children. As soon as these were aboard the Creole sailed for Cape Francois, where Toussaint and his family were transferred to another ship of war, the *Hero*, which immediately sailed for France. The passage was rapid, and the ship arrived safely at Brest. Toussaint was taken out immediately, and made to set out in a carriage towards Morlaix, on the route to the castle of Joux in the

Lower Pyrenees, while his family were removed to Bayonne. The gelid atmosphere of the mountain region where the prison of Toussaint was situated wrought a rapid decay in the bodily constitution of one who had never before been beyond the tropics, and was now in extreme old age. But the dreary reverse which had torn him from the summit of his power and ambition had an agency equally potent in hurrying him to the tomb, and after a captivity of ten months he expired in his cell.

Thus terminated the career of the first of blacks, who has by turns been represented as a ferocious monster, and as the most surprising and the best of men. As it has been truly observed, he was neither. Endowed by nature with high qualities of mind, he owed his elevation nevertheless to the sole agency of extraordinary events. Nature made him but an African of uncommon shrewdness, and the accidental situation of his country made him a prince among his race; and as his fortune grew he deemed himself an instrument of heaven to redeem the condition of his brethren, and guide them to a glorious destiny. His habits were thoughtful; and like all men of energetic temperament, he crowded much into what he said. Compared with the rest of his race, his character and talents swell into bold relief; and so profound and original were his opinions that they have been successively drawn upon by all the chiefs of his country since his era, and still without exhaustion or loss of adaptation to the circumstances of the country. The policy of his successors has been but a repetition of his plans, and his maxims are still the guidance of the rulers of Hayti. His thoughts were copious and full of vigor, and what he could express well in the sententiousness of his native *patois* he found tame and unsatisfactory in the French language, which he was obliged to employ in the details of his official business. He would never sign what he did not fully understand, obliging two or three different secretaries to re-word the document until they had succeeded in furnishing the particular phrase expressive of his meaning. He seemed at first to be attached to the interests of the blacks, but when he had tasted of the sweets of power he grew more and more fond of its exercise for himself alone and to secure the possession of nominal liberty to

his race, because in that he advanced the interests of his own personal ambition. He made himself an absolute and independent chieftain, both to exalt himself beyond the wanton ignorance of the blacks and to maintain their condition against the designs of France. "I wish not for independence," said he, "but as a means of securing to my caste the enjoyment of rights which have once been conceded to them, but which now are menaced." Leclerc was instructed to offer a bishop's mitre to either of Toussaint's confessors who should succeed in obtaining his voluntary submission; but fathers Antheaume, Moliere and Corneille all declared without hesitation their utter want of all influence over their penitent; and added that devotion with him was but a political mask; and these pretended confessors may be presumed to know better than any one what his confessions were.

The confidential secretaries of Toussaint assured Gen. Leclerc that they knew no one in the world who possessed a control over his stubborn spirit. Napoleon knew so little of his character that he sent Gen. Caffarelli to visit him several times in his confinement, to demand of him how much treasure he had left concealed in St. Domingo. "I have indeed lost something else beside treasures," were the only words in reply.

It is perhaps due to truth to say that occasion was taken by the French of their earliest suspicions, to seize upon the person of Toussaint, as they feared for the future tranquillity of their government in the country so long as there remained within its limits a negro chief whose all potent voice could at any moment summon the blacks to his standard; and by seizing upon occasions of disaster to the French succeed once more in establishing a native dynasty which would make itself independent of France. Toussaint had scarcely become settled in his retirement before the vessels which afterwards received him as a prisoner had departed from Cape Francois to receive him at Gonaives.

The arrest of Toussaint did not produce so great a sensation among the blacks as had been expected. The idol that they had worshipped they seemed to resign into the hands of his enemies without a murmur, or at the most the event produced in them but a momentary wonder,

which soon subsided into absolute indifference. Toussaint's aid-de-camp, Lafontaine, against whom it was proved that he had been active in making arrangements for the success of his patron's designs, was shot at Cape Francois after he had made a written adieu to his family full of pathetic eloquence. The only disturbance which was consequent upon Toussaint's capture originated with a black named Sylla, who remained in command of a detachment of black troops at Ennery. These ran to arms at the tidings that their general had been seized by the French; but they were subdued in the very origin of their attempt, and the leaders were shot.

Gen. Leclerc now felt conscious that his situation was one of extreme difficulty and danger; and amidst the embarrassments of the case he found it by no means an easy task to determine upon the nature of his policy. He dreaded the consequences if the blacks were suffered to continue with arms in their hands, and he feared the dangers which might result if any attempt were made to disarm them. He was not ignorant of what Santhonax had told them: "If you wish to remain free make use of your arms the moment the whites demand them of you; for such a demand will be the inevitable precursor of slavery." Neither was it forgotten that Toussaint while reviewing his troops would often seize a musket, and brandishing it aloft would exclaim, "behold your liberty!" These recollections had their influence in restraining Leclerc from attempting suddenly to disarm the blacks at a moment when disease was thinning the numbers of his own troops; and in a task so delicate he hoped to succeed better by a cautious system of temporizing. The organization of a national guard was studiously neglected, that any attempts to array another corps against the present attitude of the black army might not alarm or enrage those whom it was designed one day to deprive of their means of war. When Leclerc gave himself up to the establishment of a new administration, he sought, by the creation of a multitude of official agents, to erect a sufficient barrier against the future attempts of the blacks. A sort of colonial council was formed, composed of fifteen members, seven of whom were chosen from among the population of the South, and eight others were selected



by Gen. Leclerc himself, to represent the interests of the North. "It is not a deliberative assembly which I establish," said Gen. Leclerc, in his proclamation: "I know too well what evils have been brought upon the colony by bodies of this nature. I will inform them of my designs, and they will communicate to me their advice and experience."

This cabinet council, which was composed of the richest proprietors, of every color, began its deliberations at Cape Francois; but the death of its president and the sickness of almost all its members annihilated the assembly at one blow. Much expectation had been founded upon the influence of this body in the emergency of the time, but these hopes were now changed to disappointment, and the speedy destruction which seemed to threaten the French army aroused Gen. Leclerc to an immediate effort to disarm the blacks, as something was to be done while the black chiefs remained friendly, though it was judged that the proper season for action had not yet arrived. To prevent the immediate outbreaking of discontent and mutiny, permission was issued to the disbanded blacks to compose the proportion of one third in a body of gens d'armes, which was constituted chiefly of French soldiers, and made to receive the pay of half a dollar a day. But the duties were arduous, and the French soldiers were found unable to perform it, as those who were admitted into its ranks in the evening were almost sure to perish, from the severity of the service, in the morning.

The work of disarming went on slow, and was necessarily imperfect from the impossibility of traversing with a few troops the vast extent of country over which the negro forces were dispersed. The process was passed through by sections, and the whole result was but the gathering of some thirty thousand muskets, of which twenty thousand were recognized as arms which Toussaint had purchased from the Americans or English.

The disarming of the blacks was not effected in tranquillity. The negroes were alarmed for the consequences or indignant at this outrage on their free condition, and they fled in hordes to join the ranks of brigand chieftains among the mountains, and insurrections burst forth in

different places attended with atrocities even greater than those of the first rebellion. The French accused an English frigate which was cruising off the southern coast of possessing an agency in these events, and it was asserted that the English commander had held an interview with a brigand chief named Lafortune but a few days before he drew the sword. These troubles, however, did not stop the work of disarming the blacks of the South, and while some submitted others fled in indignation to the focus of the new rebellion.

The mulattoes of the South, suspicious or angry at the forced departure of Rigaud, had retired in great numbers to the mountains—an imprudence which in the end cost them dear, as they were numbered with the insurgents, and when taken by the French, whether with or without arms in their hands, they were punished with excessive rigor—the scaffolds being daily loaded with multitudes of victims, who were put to death without distinction of sex or age. These severities, and the sudden disappearance of the mulatto general Lamartiniere, the hero of Crete a Pierrot, furnished a cause for the desertion of Charles Belair, who made his escape with great numbers of followers, and succeeded in reaching the mountains of Cahos in safety. Dessalines had just been appointed by Gen. Rochambeau to the command of St. Marks, and when he was informed of this movement of Charles Belair he pursued him, equally prepared to capture, or if he found his resources sufficient, to join him. Charles Belair had succeeded Gen. Moyse in the enjoyment of the intimate confidence of Toussaint, whose nephew he also was; and it has been asserted that he was the one destined by Toussaint as his successor in the government of the country. That he took the direction of the mountains of Cahos, the former pivot of Toussaint's operations, renders the story probable that he designed to carry on the plans of that chieftain, to whom he had ever manifested a more unvarying attachment than any of his other generals. Charles Belair was of more polished manners than his compatriots in the army of Toussaint. He was very corpulent—addicted to dress—and passed among those who knew him for a man of impetuous temper, if not of rashness. Greedy of fame, and faithful to Toussaint without

being cruel, so far from engaging in the massacres of the time, he often put himself forward to save the victims of black ferocity; and among those who were indebted to him for their lives there were many distinguished French officers.

When Dessalines had overtaken him a few parleys followed, and Belair consented without suspicion to an interview between them; but whether it was from a dislike in Belair to recognize so brutal a chief as Dessalines as his superior, or that he refused to make avowals which might bring on a renewal of the war against the French before sufficient preparations had been made for such an event, the conference was unsatisfactory, and Dessalines, who had for a long time been jealous of the aspiring hopes of his former associates, gave orders for the arrest of Charles Belair, who together with his wife was sent to Cape Francois confined in fetters. He was tried by a court martial, presided over by Gen. Clervaux and composed of black officers, and he was condemned unanimously, together with his wife, to be shot; and it was by black troops that this cruel sentence was carried into execution. Some malignant spirit must have enstamped his influence upon the blacks who committed this savage act upon one of their own race, or it was done through the mere agency of a trained ferocity which delighted in blood, though that blood was its own. In a few days after this outrage upon humanity had been committed at Cape Francois, Dessalines ordered three hundred blacks and mulattoes to be shot at the river Artibonite, to avenge the death of some French soldiers who had been murdered within the limits of his command. Whatever might have been the cause which produced the tragical death of Charles Belair, this wholesale execution upon the Artibonite needs no explanation, for the food that nurtured the soul of Dessalines was the blood of cruelty.

In the midst of these proceedings in the southern and central parts of the island, the quiet of the North began to grow disturbed. Sans Souci, the black chieftain of Grande Riviere, threw off the mask which concealed his hollow friendship and raised the standard of revolt, and the French garrisons of Dondon and Plaisance were driven in retreat before him. Sylla, the negro chief who had

attempted to avenge the capture of Toussaint, now began a humble imitation of his great namesake, and appeared in arms ready to become a dictator should fortune crown him with triumph. Two black chiefs were rallying their forces and inspiring alarm by their movements at Port de Paix, and some outrages had been committed in Tortugas before the French were able to check them. But the insurgents were not so easily restrained in other parts, for they were almost every where triumphant over the French; and even those who had been partially subdued soon renewed their strength, and were ready for new efforts. Sans Souci, a black till then unknown, manifested much skill in his manœuvres. He harassed the French posts without ceasing—he multiplied himself by the incredible activity of his movements, and held the French troops in such inquietude as contributed greatly to increase disease among them. He averred that he was not an insurgent, but that he was in arms to procure the expulsion of Christophe, who was his personal enemy, when he would lay aside his resistance. To surprise and capture him the French professed to listen to his demands, and two expeditions were fitted out against him under generals Abbé and Dalton; but after having sustained a great loss they found that from being the assailants they had become the assailed; and but for the timely succor of Gen. Boudet, who had just arrived from Guadaloupe, their situation would have been one of extreme peril. After this ill success it was determined to employ Christophe against Sans Souci, and from the fierceness of Christophe's hatred brilliant results were expected. But Christophe did not display so much activity as his antagonist, and he failed to achieve much against him.\*

Meantime the spirit of insurrection was displaying itself in every direction, and it had already become so general as to make the situation of the French imminently dangerous, unable as they were to do more than act upon the defensive. Gen. Brunet could not make head against an insurrection at the Mole St. Nicholas. The negroes of Moustique had driven before them the garrison of Port de Paix, and they were murdering all the whites within their reach—burning the houses of the town, which had been but just rebuilt, and had even gained possession of

the fort where there was in store the quantity of twenty-five thousand pounds of gunpowder. When this disastrous occurrence was known the French commander-in-chief dispatched Gen. Dugua from the Cape at the head of eighteen hundred men, to proceed to the succor of Port de Paix. Meantime the black general, Maurepas, rushed forward to the rescue of the place, though with a feeble detachment of but twenty whites and a single company of blacks. Every one whom Maurepas met he killed upon the spot, as he penetrated, axe in hand, into the fort containing the powder. But notwithstanding this promptitude the powder was lost. With incredible activity and diligence the blacks had already fled with it to the mountains, exulting that they were now possessed of means to maintain their resistance.

The tidings of this success spread with rapidity, and wrought upon susceptible hearts. Almost all the blacks of the North joined the ranks of the insurgents, or were included within territory which they had gained from the French, who had already been driven from post to post, until nothing remained to them except the towns along the coast. The French in their desperation had recourse to measures of intimidation; but while the executioner was engaged daily in dispatching his numerous victims upon the scaffold, the ranks of the insurgents received continual accessions of strength from the desertions of those who had until now adhered to the cause of the French. This ill-timed severity of the French defeated its own end, for the negroes marched to torture and death with an imposing exterior of fearlessness, and they were regarded as martyrs to the cause of their race, whose sufferings were to be avenged and whose example followed.

The former officers of Toussaint still remained faithful to the French, and the leaders in this new revolt were those whose genius or ambition had never before been furnished with a field for the display of its enterprise. Dessalines came to Cape Francois to renew to Gen. Leclerc his protestations of fidelity; and false as he was cruel, while he nurtured in his heart hopes of exterminating the French from the island, he ceased not to say "that he thirsted for the blood of the insurgents."

These insurgents, in the wild excesses of their first triumphs, were guilty of deeds which outraged the laws of nature, and nature herself seemed to second their destructiveness. Disease was now raging frightfully in every town throughout the French part of the island, and increasing in its intensity every day. The Spanish territory alone escaped from this terrific infliction,—and amidst the dreadful ravages which were desolating other parts, it was thought for a moment to be sending the French troops into the salubrious valleys along the rivers Yague and Yuna: but the urgent necessity of defending the northern coast against the gathering strength of the negroes compelled the French commander-in-chief to relinquish the idea. The fatality of the fever was terrible; and where its ravages were greatest, all military discipline was utterly lost—generals being huddled without distinction with the common soldiers, and no one recognizing any authority but the instinctive impulses within him. All friendship was frozen up in a heartless selfishness, which shut out human aid from those whose sufferings required it most. The crowds of camp followers, whose vice and wretchedness nurtured within them the seeds of death, added to the picture of horror, while in every town there was presented the spectacle of a moving mass of misery and disorder, the disease continued to mark out one after another its victims. Friend followed friend without an interval for sorrow, and the dread of contagion stifled the cries of human sympathy, a ferocious despair glared in the faces of the dying, abandoned as they were both by philanthropy and fortune, and their surviving associates considered their lot not more fortunate, as no situation seemed a refuge from the pestilence. If the troops marched to the country, they found no escape from the danger which pursued them. Their camp was a hospital, and they died among the orange groves and balmy fragrance which breathed around them. Those who sought safety by embarking on ship board shared the same fate, for the disease was not confined to the land. Some ships lost their entire crews four times in succession; and forty-eight passengers arriving from Bourdeaux all died before they had time to land at Cape Francois. Every soul aboard a

Swedish vessel perished with the single exception of the cabin boy, and the ship was sold at auction on the quay of the Cape. Some engineer officers arriving from France came only to die; and some officers, who had been for some time in the country, demanded permission to flee to France; but whether their request was granted or not it mattered nothing, for they all perished. The transportation of troops from point to point of the island was one unvarying scene of sorrow, for the splashing sound of bodies thrown into the water was only interrupted by the groans of the sick or dying. Whole detachments of troops were precipitated to the tomb almost together. Four thousand men landing from some transports almost all perished, far from their homes, and without the glory of a single achievement in the field.

During these scenes of horror and wretchedness, some sought diversion from the misery around them in gaming and criminal excesses, while others endeavored to allay the torments of their fear by steeping their senses in intoxication, but it was only to hasten the approach of their last moments. Some braved death by forced or reckless gaiety, by carousing "pottles deep," while others calmly awaited their fate amidst the dalliances of love—thus sprinkling with flowers the brink of eternity. So hardened to misery or depraved had some become, that they continued to enjoy the dance when death was striking his victims from among their very partners. Madame Lelerc now fled from Cape Francois to breathe the less infectious air of the country. She occupied a plantation house situate upon the slope of a hill which overlooked the sea. Here this most beautiful of European women lived in her usual routine of pleasure, while all around her were dying. Sometimes she was carried in a sort of palanquin to romantic sites on the coast, where she remained for hours gazing upon the bright waters glittering in the hot sun, or in tracing the enchanting outline of the shore as it was broken by inlets or stretched itself into jutting headlands. She forgot the pestilence in a succession of fêtes, where in the dance she showed off her grace and beauty; but even here death walked with funereal torches, for those who had danced in the evening were often enshrouded in death on the following day. Twenty French

generals had already perished, some battalions were reduced to a single file, and others were entirely cut off to a man. Of six thousand men who had arrived within two months to reinforce the French troops of the island, there now remained but a handful.\*

Gen. Boudet was now dispatched to France by the commander-in-chief, to give information of the unhappy condition of the army, and Gen. Lacroix was ordered to succeed him in the command at the Haut du Cap. Christophe was there, and in a conference between him and Gen. Lacroix he addressed the latter as follows: "You are young and a European; you have always served in Europe and cannot know the prejudices about slavery. The revolt increases because confidence is lost; and if you were yourself black you would not perhaps rest in tranquillity as I do, who am about sending my son to be educated in France. The brigands who lead the insurrection are nothing—the danger is not in that direction, but it lies in the convictions of the blacks. They are alarmed at the decree of the 30th of April for the maintenance of slavery in St. Domingo, and at the attempts of the First Consul to restore the ancient regime, and they are exerting themselves against it. If I did not confide in Gen. Leclerc," he continued, "I should not be among you. Sans-Souci is a brigand base and cruel, who does not hesitate to murder all whom he suspects. He knows when to fly and when to cover his flight by leaving a desert behind him. He is doing better than we did when you landed. If instead of fighting we had fled before you, and alarmed the negroes of the country, you would never have succeeded over us. Toussaint ceased not to say what no one would believe—'We have arms in our hands—pride alone makes us use them;' and now these new insurgents have arisen up to follow that very system; and if they continue their warfare we shall find it difficult to subdue them." Gen. Lacroix relates that he left this interview with Christophe to make a visit to Gen. Leclerc, whom he found disconsolate and gloomy, but not without hope that the war was but a contest with banditti; and he further adds, that upon his return to his quarters at Fort Dauphin he was entreated by Christophe

\* Metral.



to avail himself of the escort of his guides, as he dreaded the system of warfare adopted by the new insurgents and suspected an ambushade. "Having proceeded," says the French general, "for some distance on my route, the guides stopped all of a sudden before a gang of thirty blacks who were partly concealed in a ditch by the side of the way. Both parties cried out "Stop!" and I received most of the fire of the insurgents because I was in advance of my guides, but fortunately I remained untouched. The enemy's chief having now recognised Don Diego Polanto, a Spanish officer who was with me, and who had once entertained the negro at his house in Santiago, they all dispersed."

The words of the First Consul addressed to the Abbé Gregoire were now in every one's mouth. "After what has happened in St. Domingo the amis des noirs throughout all Europe should veil their heads in crape;" and these were understood by the negroes of St. Domingo to portend their reduction to slavery. The existing excitement was farther increased when a vessel arrived at Cape Francois with a cargo of blacks who had been sent off from Guadaloupe after the troubles in that island had been appeased. Some of these swam ashore in the night, and in consequence of the accounts they brought of the re-establishment of slavery in Guadaloupe, the jealousy of their brethren in St. Domingo was ripened at once into enmity and defection. While this fermentation had not yet subsided, the report, whether true or false, was industriously spread that a multitude of mulattoes had been transported from Guadaloupe and sold as slaves in the city of Santo Domingo. From this moment the fidelity of the black troops to the French was irrevocably shaken.

Clervaux, who had so recently condemned Charles Belair on a charge of treason to the whites, was the first to remove the mask, by deserting from Cape Francois with three brigades of blacks who had been placed under his command. He had spent the evening at the rooms of Madame Leclerc, where he exclaimed in enthusiasm, "I have always been a freeman, and circumstances have elevated my race to liberty and power; and if there were now a question of slavery I would instantly become a brigand." The situation of Gen. Leclerc was now one

of imminent danger. There remained not enough seamen in the roads to man the vessels of war, and of the garrison of Cape Francois there existed but two hundred whites, intermingled in the ranks of fifteen hundred blacks. Clervaux's defection seems due to Petion, as on the night of the 13th of September the latter general ordered the blacks to dismantle and spike the cannon of the batteries at the Haut du Cap, and to disarm and send into town the white artillerymen. When these arrangements had been made he proceeded to Clervaux's quarters and announced to him that the blacks of the garrison were disaffected, but that the fact was as yet unknown in the town, and to save their heads, which might have to pay for this defection, nothing was better than to participate in it. Clervaux, unprepared as he was for this anticipation of his schemes, was transported with indignation, and springing half naked upon his horse he immediately commenced his flight, abandoning all his effects, which amounted in value to many thousands. Clervaux at this time had but to put himself at the head of the black-garrison at Cape Francois, and the surprise and capture of Leclerc would have been easy, as the French commander-in-chief had but three hundred men upon whose efforts he could rely for his defence.

Christophe, after the defection of Clervaux, was heard to say that he had the means in his power to humble the pride of Leclerc, but that he would wait the issue of events as a "friendly spectator." Leclerc, now in daily expectation of an attack, made all the arrangements in his power to resist it. The national guard was again re-organized, and none but the rich mulatto proprietors were admitted into its ranks. On the 16th of September the blacks under Clervaux and Petion advanced to an attack upon the town, and they began their attempt with impetuosity. The French troops were driven in from the surrounding heights, and the fortress Pierre Michel fell into the hands of the assailants, though they were repulsed in their attack upon fort Jeantot. They knew the true strength of their enemy, and they were astonished at the vigor with which the town was defended; and suspecting fresh troops had arrived from Europe to the assistance of Leclerc through fear or discouragement they re-

treated, leaving the field covered with their dead. The new national guard fought with desperation in this conflict, and its commander, Henin, had a horse shot under him. During the attack the blacks of the French garrison who still retained their fidelity were sent aboard the ships in the harbor, and suffered themselves to be disarmed by the whites. Disease had made such ravages among the shipping in the road that many vessels were altogether left deserted, and all were so reduced in the numbers of their crews that it was with terror that they saw arriving among them a horde of blacks whose amity they more than doubted. When the troops of the garrison were driven in from the heights above the town, the sailors, believing that the blacks were triumphant and that the place was captured, cried out in their despair, "Let us kill what we can," and a scene of vengeance was soon in full action in the harbor—and the waves ingulfed in an instant more than a thousand wretches, whom a singular destiny had doomed to perish by the hands of their allies, the victims of a mistaken panic.

Christophe, who had hitherto remained neuter, now joined Clervaux by night at Grande Rivière, and the defection of Christophe was the signal of universal war against the French. Dessalines had for a long time been making his preparations in secret, and he now openly declared for the cause of his countrymen against the designs of Gen. Leclerc. He had been appointed by the French commander-in-chief to be inspector-general of agriculture; and thus being possessed of a minute acquaintance with the characters and dispositions of the negroes of the plantations, he availed himself of his office to disarm all those whose attachment to the whites he had reason to dread, and to bestow their weapons upon those whom he knew to be ready to second his designs; and when subsequent events had given him sovereign power great numbers of the former were given over to massacre. It was but a half measure to arrest Toussaint and leave his accomplices and chief agents to seize upon every future opportunity to embroil the peace of the island and animate the negroes to projects of independence. If that policy had been instituted, not only Toussaint, but Dessalines, Christophe, and all the other black chiefs who had

acquired a reputation and dangerous influence over their countrymen, should have been sent from the country, and no future opportunity be left to any of their race to advance himself to a like power and influence over the blacks; and though there might have been occasional insurrections, the resources of France would have finally triumphed, and the island become restored by degrees to its ancient prosperity.

The blacks were now in arms and triumphant everywhere, and to estimate the situation of Leclerc it is requisite to know, that of thirty-four thousand men who had arrived in the island at different times since the war had commenced, twenty-four thousand were already dead, and seven thousand more were either sick in the hospitals or convalescent from disease,—and thus there remained but little more than two thousand men dispersed in garrisons throughout the island; and of this feeble remnant, disease, which was still in destructive activity, was daily diminishing the numbers. The national guard, composed of the chief proprietors that remained upon their estates, was quite insufficient to protect the exposed points of the country.

In this dangerous exigence the French commander-in-chief put forth every effort to save himself from the destruction that seemed impending over him. The troops of the South were concentrated in front of the bands of De Rance and Lafortune;—those of the West upon St. Marks and Port au Prince—and every thing in the North was called to the defence of Cape Francois and the Mole St. Nicholas. Gen. Lacroix, who was in command of Fort Dauphin, received orders to evacuate that post and concentrate his forces upon Cape Francois. They were composed of eight hundred blacks, under the command of a negro chief called Toussaint Brave, and a little more than two hundred French. The French general, upon the refusal of these blacks to accompany him to Cape Francois, ordered them to march out of the fort while the white troops were ranged imposingly with arms in their hands on each side of the gate of the fortress. This manœuvre was accomplished without difficulty, but before the white forces could embark an attack was commenced upon them by their late comrades, the

blacks, though they ceased their firing when they heard the voice of the French general ordering them to desist. The feeble detachment of whites and mulattoes that now remained proceeded to destroy every thing which they could not take with them, and when this had been effected they departed by sea to Cape Francois. Gen. Brunet was ordered to evacuate the great extent of country which he occupied to the eastward of the latter town; and this was accomplished after much difficulty and a series of movements which consumed much time.

While these movements were going on Gen. Leclerc fell sick at his quarters in Cape Francois; and when this event was known abroad a new impulse was given to the hostilities of the blacks, who soon began to hover around the town in vast numbers. On the morning of the 28th of October another attack was made upon the place by the blacks under Clervaux and Christophe. The French troops were obliged to give way before the hosts and impetuosity of the enemy, and the national guard under Henin again tried to sustain the fortune of the day. But resistance against such vast odds was a struggle against hope, and the French were driven in succession from all their outposts, and became closely invested in the place. During the engagement Gen. Leclerc, though prostrate with disease, maintained an exterior of calmness, and inspired his officers with hope by the display of a resolute spirit in the perilous emergency into which he had fallen. But he was worn with a long and corroding succession of cares and anxieties, and the malady found him an easy victim. The desperate condition of his army and of the cause of France in St. Domingo filled him with mournful regret, and a little before his death he expressed his sorrow at the misguided policy which had ruled the expedition under his command, and lost to France such multitudes of brave men, who, whether for services which they had already rendered or might yet render to France, were worthy of a better fate. During the night of the 1st of November, 1802, Gen. Leclerc expired in the arms of Gen. Bachelier and M. Peyre, the physician-in-chief to the army. The body of the deceased was immediately embalmed and carried aboard the Swiftsure vessel of war. Madame Leclerc accompanied the body of her husband,

together with Admiral Latouche, the commander-in-chief of the fleet, and the military family of Gen. Leclerc. The hat and sword of the deceased were placed in state upon the coffin in the presence of a procession of French officers who assisted at the ceremony; and when all things were in readiness the Swiftsure sailed immediately for France.

After the death of Gen. Leclerc the office of commander-in-chief devolved upon Gen. Rochambeau, then in command at Port au Prince, who came immediately to Cape Francois to succeed to the hopelessness of conducting a war which had become so unequal. Hopes were now cherished by many that the advancement to the chief command of a man so intimately acquainted with the country and the character of the blacks, might yet save to France the possession of a colony which she was on the point of losing forever. But whatever unfounded expectations might animate the proprietors in consequence of this change in the depositaries of power, it was viewed by the blacks with indignation or terror; for as the new commander-in-chief had accustomed himself to the practice of whipping them without mercy when a simple general, they now feared that he would punish them with scorpions, to make the severity of his chastisements proportionate to the increase of his authority. Rochambeau soon found his situation one of unmixed despair. The French army had become diminished to a handful, while the strength and encouragement of the blacks were growing by immense accessions every day. A momentary hope was excited by the arrival of a reinforcement of twenty thousand men from France; and with this force Rochambeau took the field—but it was soon found that these legions also had been freighted to that murderous climate only to die. The severities of a service of perpetual harassment and exposure soon developed fever, and death came sweeping in its train.

A variety of military operations were now put in progress along the northern coast. Those most important took place in the neighborhood of the Mole St. Nicholas, where the French, encouraged by the new accession to their numbers, made a vigorous effort to drive the blacks from that peninsula. The hordes of the latter were

attacked in their position, and the action was prolonged far into the night; and in the desperation of the conflict great numbers of the blacks were precipitated over a height into the sea. But the destruction of a few of the insurgents in a single battle brought with it no decided success to the French, for the numbers that were lost to their enemies were succeeded by new multitudes of blacks, prepared to take the place of those who had fallen and give continual employment to the French. After the evacuation of Fort Dauphin by Gen. Lacroix the blacks had seized upon that post, and an expedition was now fitted out from Cape Francois under Gen. Clausel, to dislodge the insurgents from the fortress. The place was vigorously attacked both by land and sea, and though the blacks sustained themselves with difficulty for a few days, they were compelled at last to deliver themselves up to the French commander.

By the end of the year 1802 the last reinforcements to the French army had wasted to an inconsiderable corps. It was no longer that any of the veterans of Italy and Egypt remained, to be sent to perish in St. Domingo; and each division which had been dispatched thither from Havre and Cherbourg had been less capable than its predecessor of enduring service under the pestilential skies of a country in which there had perished nearly forty thousand men in a single year. At last the reinforcements shipped to the island were but the young and tender recruits gathered from the distant provinces, where more than one conscription had taken place already for the maintenance of the consular armies.

At the commencement of a new year a momentary pause had ensued in the struggle against the insurgents; but hostilities were soon resumed with new exertions and new carnage. The blacks had now discovered the mode of warfare for which they were best adapted, and which, though protracted in its nature and indecisive in its first results, was sure to produce final success. The French perished by a continual succession of guerilla attacks from which no post was safe, and amidst which no movement could be set on foot without an excess of precaution, which sometimes defeated the purpose for which it had been intended. The French, exhausted with disease

and hardship, rested in their entrenchments at Cape Francois awaiting the arrival of new succors. The blacks, on the contrary, seeing their ranks thickening from day to day by the arrival of new forces, who were thronging to the standard of their chiefs, and encouraged by the prosperous condition of their cause, were eager for battle, and confident in their hopes of soon driving their enemy from a country which they already claimed as their own. Dessalines had been with one voice selected as their commander-in-chief, for if they dreaded his ferocity they trusted much in his superior prowess and skill in war. In this condition of things the blacks resolved to put fresh vigor into their efforts, in order to a speedy termination of the war. They were assembled in great force in the plain of Cape Francois, and Rochambeau, in daily expectation of an attack, saw the necessity of concentrating his forces as much as possible, to maintain himself against the enemy and save the town where he was posted. The blacks hovered in swarms around every outpost and seized upon every occasion which was presented to them to harass the movements of the French. Several sharp conflicts took place in the vicinity of Acul, and Rochambeau at last found himself driven by necessity to disperse if possible the hordes of negroes who were thus destroying his army in detail. But in the first movements which were ordered for this purpose, a small detachment of French which had been ordered on a particular service to coöperate with the main body of the army, found itself surrounded by the blacks, and was compelled to surrender itself in a body. Rochambeau soon came up with the insurgents and charged them with an impetuosity which obliged them to give way; but though in retreat the blacks still kept their pursuers at bay. Through the exertions of their chiefs they were at length rallied from their disorder, and they now attacked the French in their turn; and Rochambeau, unable or unwilling to hazard another battle, fell back to his position in the town. The losses on both sides in this action were considerable; and if such barren advantage may be called success the blacks were victorious, for they remained masters of the field of battle.

In this contest the French had taken five hundred pris-



oners of the enemy, and Rochambeau condemned them all to death, without reflecting that by this severity he was sacrificing the lives of his own soldiers who had fallen into the power of the blacks. Dessalines was soon informed of this act of rigor, and in his rage he resolved to make his retaliation conspicuous. He ordered that five hundred gibbets should be erected within sight of the French lines, and upon them he commanded that a like number of French officers and soldiers who were prisoners in his camp should be hung at daybreak, as an example that he was not to be outdone in cruelty. This ghastly sacrifice was the signal for another attack, and the blacks poured with incredible fury upon the French, who after a desperate struggle were driven from all their outposts, and scarcely able to maintain themselves within the town itself.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Critical situation of Rochambeau at Cape Francois—His cruelties—Evacuation of Port au Prince by the French—Capture of Rochambeau by the English—The blacks declare themselves independent—A new government formed, and Dessalines placed at its head—His expedition against Santo Domingo—Dessalines makes himself emperor—His internal policy—Condition of the island—Massacre of all the French residents—System of defence adopted by Dessalines—His tyranny and death—Petion elected President of the Haytien Republic.

THE French forces in the north of the island were now completely shut up in Cape Francois, and the insurgents, triumphant throughout that whole province, were gathered in hordes on every side of that town, like tigers ravenous for their prey. But Rochambeau, though unable to make head against the countless swarms of the enemy, held himself at bay, and the furious attempts of Dessalines to drive him from his last foothold on that coast were in each instance repulsed with the courage of despair. In the month of April there arrived a small detachment of troops from France to reinforce for the last

time the thrice destroyed army of St. Domingo; and Rochambeau with these feeble succors prepared to act upon the offensive against the enemy.

But hostilities had now commenced again between France and England, and before the French general could have time to achieve any thing in the field against the insurgents, he found himself compelled to fall back upon Cape Francois to defend that place against an English squadron that had made its appearance off the harbor. To add to the perplexities of his situation, Rochambeau now saw himself blockaded by sea as well as invested by the blacks on the side of the land: and all that now remained to the French on that coast was but a little district scarcely two miles in extent.

These circumstances, so perilous and discouraging to the French, gave new activity to the insurgents, who now saw that their success was certain, and that a few more efforts would entirely crush their enemy once so formidable. Dessalines hastened to dispatch an emissary aboard the English squadron, to invite its commander to act in concert with him against their common enemy, the French—and he exulted at the thought, that by this powerful coöperation an easy and immediate conquest might be attained over the last remains of the French army in that province. Together with the proposal of forming an active alliance with the negroes, the envoy of Dessalines had been instructed to solicit of the English commander a supply of arms and munitions of war. But the wishes of the latter belligerent did not extend to such an open and intimate coöperation as was signified in the propositions of Dessalines, and he did not feel himself authorized to yield to them in their full extent, though he hesitated not to encourage the blacks in their hostility, and he rendered them an important service by blockading the harbor of Cape Francois. One of the English frigates which was cruising along the northern coast of the island to the eastward of Cape Francois, had the success to capture a great number of French vessels which were bringing provisions for Rochambeau's army from the Spanish part of the island. This event was an afflictive disaster to the French, as, though they were already suffering from want, they now saw with terror that they were effectually shut

up in their entrenchments, without the possibility of receiving reinforcements or supplies, either by land or by sea. The fierceness and courage of the negroes became augmented with the distresses of their enemy, and not a foraging party could proceed from the town beyond the guns of the forts without its being attacked by swarms of the insurgents, and being often compelled to retreat before them with considerable loss.\*

The French general continued to defend himself in his desperate situation with a courage and obstinacy truly heroic, though the horrors of famine and pestilence were to a fearful degree prevalent among his troops, who had already been driven to kill their horses, mules, and even dogs, to appease the hunger which was devouring them. Indignant at being driven to such straits by slaves in arms against their masters, the successes and exulting attitude of the negroes awoke in the bosom of Rochambeau all the fiery qualities of the Creole character. That he should not be driven from the island without taking vengeance on the insurgents, as well for their past atrocities as for their present triumphs, Rochambeau resolved to have recourse to cruelty. His prisoners were put to death in studied tortures. The black general, Maurepas, though he had not yet joined the insurgents, yet for some conduct which had involved him in suspicion, was hung to the yard arm of a vessel, and his troops and family were all drowned before his eyes. The sacrifice of multitudes of negroes to the vengeance of the French seemed to serve no end but to increase the desire for more victims. The blacks who still remained faithful were overwhelmed with consternation at these daily executions, and their flight to join their countrymen under Dessalines awakened new jealousy and rage in the bosoms of the French. The least suspicion of treachery, so easily aroused by a gesture or a whisper, doomed the blacks who still remained in the town, or had been thrown into the power of Rochambeau, to instant death. This barbarous cruelty served no purpose but to increase the numbers of the insurgents, as all the blacks who were able to effect an escape fled from the power of a man whose headlong vengeance refused to discriminate between friends and

\* Malo.

foes. The French sailors and soldiers were engaged in daily tasks of massacre, executed in every form which ingenuity could invent. Noyades, or drowning of people in masses, were practised to such extent that the inhabitants of the sea-coast refused to eat the fish which were taken along the shore where so many dead bodies were floating. In reprisal for these massacres, Paul Louverture, a negro chief whose wife had been drowned at Cape Francois by the order of Rochambeau, having obtained possession of thirty Frenchmen who were passengers aboard a French ship which had been wrecked at Fort Dauphin, hung them all within sight of the French lines. Some of the negroes who had been ordered over to the executioner were saved from their fate through the avarice of the French officer, and sent to other islands to be sold as slaves.

This wanton vengeance was not confined to the province of the North, where Rochambeau had the command, but, as if the French had resolved to employ the last moments of their dominion in avenging their slaughtered countrymen, the former victims of negro ferocity, and to repay themselves in vengeance for the mortification of being driven from the island by their slaves in arms, every part of the country became a scene of carnage and cruelty, and death attended the march of the French in every district. The mulattoes of the South were in arms against Gen. Lavallette, who commanded at Port au Prince, in consequence of outrages which had been committed upon several individuals of that caste. To avenge this movement the mulatto gendarmrie of Aux Cayes was put aboard a vessel in that harbor, and massacred by night and the dead bodies thrown into the sea.

A mulatto whose name was Ferrou was the chief agent and leader in the hostile movements against the French in the province of the South; but among the mulattoes some were found faithful among the faithless, for the colored general Laplume in an attack upon the forces of Ferrou drove that chieftain to take shelter in the mountains of La Hotte. But Ferrou soon emerged upon the other side of the peninsula, and made an attack upon the French and mulattoes of Petit Goave, a town which it was found impossible to preserve from the victorious insurgents. When intelligence of this affair arrived at Port

au Prince, Gen. Lavallette dispatched a small detachment under an officer named Neterwood, to drive the insurgents from their conquest; but Ferrou made good his defence against the utmost efforts of the assailants, and during the heat of the attack Neterwood was mortally wounded. After this signal success on the part of the insurgents, the whole southern interior became overrun by their forces, and Dessalines, crossing the country from Cape Francois joined Ferrou, and the two chieftains carried fire and sword to the very gates of Aux Cayes. Gen. Laplume was ordered to proceed with six hundred men to the defence of the latter town, but that force proving insufficient to make head against the enemy, two other detachments were ordered from Jeremie to advance to the assistance of Laplume. One of these was destined to proceed by water to Cape Tiburon, and landing there to cross the mountains of La Hotte at a point which would secure its coöperation with the other column, which marched directly from Jeremie. But both detachments were surprised by ambuscades of the enemy, which awaited them amidst the defiles of the mountains; and being nearly cut to pieces they were compelled to fly before the insurgents—the one falling back upon Jeremie and the other escaping in disorder to take refuge in Aux Cayes.\*

Dessalines, who had left Christophe to maintain the siege of Cape Francois, now returned to the plain of Cul de Sac, to commence operations against Gen. Lavallette in Port au Prince. The French were now driven to the utmost verge of the territory, and having abandoned all hopes of conquest they now maintained the struggle but for existence itself. The insurgents, every where triumphant by land, were now so emboldened as to attempt hostile enterprises by sea. Protected by the British cruisers they proceeded out from the shelter of the land to attack the vessels of the French which lay becalmed off the coast; and when these were captured the fierce blacks put to death every soul aboard, and seized upon the vessel and cargo as the reward of their prowess. In this manner the negroes succeeded in gaining possession of two large vessels with valuable cargoes, coming from Havre and Nantes. The French, though crippled and powerless

\* Metral

for any offensive operations, were still able to maintain themselves in the posts which still remained to them against the utmost exertions of the negroes; but the complete interception of all supplies by the swarm of English cruisers that were hovering around the coasts of the island rendered it impossible that they could subsist much longer while famine and destitution were spreading wretchedness in every garrison.

Dessalines had now taken up a position within three leagues of Port au Prince, and that town, closely invested as it was on every side, was already enduring the same afflictions as those which were pressing so heavily upon Cape Francois. St. Marks had already been abandoned, and for the escape of its garrison it had been arranged that Gen. Lavallette, at the signal of three cannon shots, should dispatch a force of four hundred men to assist the retreat of the French column by attacking Dessalines in the rear—thus to turn his position and open a communication with the road to St. Marks. The signal was made, but not heard or not remembered at Port au Prince, and the French retreating column thus cut off from its expected succors, was surrounded by vast hordes of blacks and compelled to surrender itself at discretion. Encouraged by this success Dessalines assumed the air and tone of a conqueror, and within two days he sent to demand of Gen. Lavallette the capitulation of the town under his command. This being promptly refused the black chief proceeded immediately to erect a battery upon the heights overlooking the town, and upon a point more commanding still he placed his infantry. The French general had no means to prevent these formidable preparations; and though he had often affirmed that he would never treat with an insurgent negro, he now found himself obliged to obtain some terms for his garrison, to prevent the horrors of an unconditional capture by such an enemy. He dispatched two of his officers to the black chief, to propose a negotiation for the surrender of the town. Dessalines readily consented to the overture, and it was stipulated that the place should be evacuated within eight days. The French were required to leave the fortifications in good condition, the arsenal provided with munitions of war, and the town itself untouched; and these conditions were guarantied by the delivery of hostages.

While these events were driving the French from Port au Prince, a concourse of similar disasters had obliged them to evacuate the towns of Aux Cayes and Jeremie, and the whole South was thus given up to the possession of the insurgents.

Rochambeau still maintained himself against Christophe at Cape Francois, like a tiger driven to his den and holding his pursuers at bay through the mere terror of his fierceness. Toward the middle of November, 1803, the blacks, now joined by Dessalines, made an assault upon his outworks, which were readily forced in the struggle; and encouraged by this partial success the insurgents commenced preparations to take the town by storm. In this critical situation the French general saw no farther hope of maintaining his resistance much longer; and amidst so many repeated discouragements he at last brought himself to the resolution to capitulate: for should the blacks succeed in scaling his works and obtaining a lodgment within the town, Rochambeau knew full well what horrible consequences would follow. Dessalines judged it proper to yield to the propositions of his antagonist, and on the 19th of November a treaty of capitulation was made, which stipulated that the French should evacuate the town and fortifications of Cape Francois within ten days, leaving behind them all their artillery and munitions of war; that they should be permitted to embark aboard their vessels in the harbor, and should retain their personal effects; that the sick and wounded should remain in the hospitals under the protection of the black chiefs until the period of their recovery, when they should be permitted to return to France in neutral vessels.

The negotiation with Dessalines had led to more speedy and more advantageous results than the French in the desperation of their affairs had persuaded themselves to hope; but to obtain conditions of similar lenity from the English naval commander proved a task of greater difficulty. Upon the same day that the treaty had been concluded with Dessalines, Rochambeau dispatched two of his officers to open negotiations with the English commodore. But the propositions of the French were promptly rejected by this more uncompromising enemy; and when others less exacting in their nature were substituted for

the first, these also were refused in their turn. The French general demanded terms for his army which, considering the necessitous condition of his enemy, the English commander would not permit, and Rochambeau flattered himself with the hope of escaping under the protection of a tempest which was at that moment driving the English squadron into the open sea. But the latter, already informed of the arrangement with Dessalines, redoubled their vigilance during the remainder of the term which had been stipulated for the French to remain in the town. The latter, however, were already aboard their ships, prepared to make their escape from the English squadron. The blacks soon discovered that the French had abandoned their works, and they flocked into the town, planted their standard upon its walls, and upon the 30th of November it was displayed upon all the forts of the harbor.

In this stage of the proceedings the English commander, finding no appearance of the French fleet proceeding out of the port, dispatched one of his vessels to obtain information of Rochambeau and his troops. This vessel on entering the harbor encountered one of the French ships, the commander of which prayed the English captain to proceed immediately aboard the *Surveillante*, to conclude a treaty of capitulation which would place the French fleet under the protection of the English, and prevent its being sunk at its moorings by the blacks, who were already making ready to fire upon it from the forts of the harbor with red hot shot. By this capitulation the English found themselves in possession of eight thousand prisoners of war, and among the rest of Gen. Rochambeau, the French commander-in-chief of St. Domingo. All the whites of Cape Francois who could be accommodated in the vessels hastened to abandon their homes to escape from the ferocity of the negroes, and but few were left behind but the sick and the wounded of the hospitals, whom Dessalines, grown generous in his triumph, continued to protect—thus maintaining the treaty of capitulation in one instance, though in another he would have violated it by opening a fire upon the French vessels in the harbor.

The English squadron now proceeded to the Mole St. Nicholas, which was still held by a little detachment of



French commanded by Gen. Noailles. The English commodore summoned the place to surrender, but the intrepid French commander refused to comply with this peremptory demand of his enemy, and alleged that he was still provisioned for five months. Upon the night of the 2d of December Gen. Noailles evacuated the Mole St. Nicholas, and embarking his troops aboard six small vessels, he boldly put to sea. One brig alone, aboard which was Noailles himself, had the good fortune to escape from the English squadron. All the other ships were taken by the enemy and conducted to Jamaica, together with those which had been surrendered at Cape Francois.

All that now remained of the once formidable army of St. Domingo was a handful of men under the command of Gen. Ferrand at Monte Christe, who was now fiercely assailed by the whole army of the blacks, and found it necessary to retreat across the country to the city of Santo Domingo. The Spanish blacks felt little sympathy with their brethren, the insurgents of the French territory, and they made no hostile attempts against the occupation of their principal city by the forces of the French. Gen. Ferrand succeeded peaceably to the government of that territory, thus securing to France the ancient capital of the island; and while the slaves of the French colonists were in triumphant possession of the dominions of Ogeon, the colors of France were at last floating over the towers of Santo Domingo.

The ancient French colonists were now dispersed throughout the world, and in the bitterness of their lot they might with truth exclaim—

*“Ruis regio in terris nostri non nota laboris !”*

Great numbers of them had taken refuge in the vicinity of St. Jago de Cuba, where they continued to reside until the exasperations of the peninsular war caused the French name to be execrated by every Spaniard. They were then driven from their new homes, and forced to abandon the wealth they had acquired by their industry, to escape in indigence to some other asylum in a foreign land, where they spent the remainder of their existence in poverty and exile, or returned to their ancient homes to perish in the massacres of Dessalines.

When the departure of the French from all the towns held by their forces had at length left the black chiefs without an enemy to combat, they began to make immediate preparations to organize a new government conformable to the new order of things. Dessalines, as the principal chief of the army, maintained his accustomed ascendancy in every movement. He addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Cape Francois, conjuring them to banish all fear, as the events of the late war had no relation to the native whites of the country. He assured them that he was ever ready to grant his protection and safeguard to all the colonists, without distinction of color, and that he should ever continue to act in like manner; adding, that the conduct which he had held toward the inhabitants of Jeremie, Aux Cayes and Port au Prince, was an evidence of his good faith and of his honorable intentions. He invited all those who were unwilling to abandon their country to remain within its territory, and he promised them his protection. In conclusion he said: "All those who desire to follow the French army are at liberty to do so." On the evening of the day appointed for the evacuation of the Cape by the forces of Rochambeau, a proclamation, in the inflated style of the revolution, was issued to the blacks and mulattoes, announcing the independence of St. Domingo, and granting permission to all proprietors who were absent in foreign countries to return and enter upon the possession of their estates, but denouncing vengeance against whomsoever should again speak of slavery in the country. This was signed by Dessalines, Christophe and Clervaux.

On the first day of the year 1804 all the principal chiefs of the black army assembled at Gonaives, to make a formal abjuration of France. As they claimed to be the representatives of the people of the country, deputed to express the will of the nation, they framed a declaration of independence, and solemnly swore to renounce all allegiance to France forever, and to perish rather than submit again to her control. To manifest that they were earnest in their determination to seize upon the sovereignty of the country, they resolved to change its very name; and it was formally decreed that the island should no longer be called St. Domingo, but HAYTI, the name by which it

was known among the ancient aboriginals of the country before the discovery of Columbus. In like manner those names of places in the island which awakened the remembrance of former times, and seemed to perpetuate the memory of French dominion in the country, were exchanged for others more consonant to the new order of things. Cape Francois was to be called Cape Haytien; Fort Dauphin, Fort Liberté; and though Port au Prince had already been re-baptised Port Republican, yet as this had been done by white if not by black revolutionists, it was suffered to retain its ancient name. The conclave of black generals framed a new system of government, at the head of which they placed Jean Jaques Dessalines as governor-general for life;—and they constituted him a republican autocrat, by conferring upon him the power of making laws, of declaring peace and war, and of nominating his successor. When these important transactions had been finished the assembly broke up its session, and the anniversary of its proceedings has since that epoch been ever acknowledged as a national holiday—the day of Haytien Independence.

The first care which occupied the policy of Dessalines in his new government was to repair the waste of population in the country from the long succession of war and massacre, by measures taken to multiply the numbers under his rule. For this purpose he refused to wait the slow operation of natural causes, but sought to attain his object by importation instead of reproduction. From the first commencement of the troubles of the country there had been a constant drain of emigration from the island, and great numbers of negroes had been taken by their masters to other islands in the West Indies or to the continent of America. Besides these slaves, who could scarcely be claimed as free citizens of Hayti, a great number of free blacks and mulattoes had emigrated voluntarily to the United States at different epochs of the revolution, and were now residing in various places upon the continent. To restore these exiles to their country, Dessalines published a proclamation, in which he offered to the commanders of American merchant ships a reward of forty dollars for every black transported by them to the ports of the island. This measure, so full of hopes

to the infant republic, failed of adding great numbers to its population, as the American merchant could use nothing but persuasion to obtain recruits for the new government; and promises founded upon nothing but the assurances of Dessalines were far from being tempting in the market.

In this dilemma Dessalines directed himself to other means of accomplishing his purpose, which he hoped would be more effectual. Among other commercial advantages which he offered to an English agent residing in Jamaica, with whom he maintained intimate relations, he proposed to open the ports of St. Domingo to vessels engaged in the slave trade, and to grant to the inhabitants of Jamaica the exclusive privilege of selling negroes in Hayti. In excuse for this contemplated traffic in his own countrymen, the black chief alleged that the negroes were purchased for the purpose of employing them as soldiers and not as laborers; and when it was charged upon Dessalines that by this policy he was directly encouraging the slave trade, he replied that whether he adopted or rejected the measure the same number of slaves would be brought from Africa; and that, so far from inflicting upon them any injury, he rescued them from the horrors of a life of servitude in the English islands to make them free citizens in his government.

To drive the French from their last foothold in St. Domingo, Dessalines next began preparations for an expedition against the city of Santo Domingo, which still remained under the command of Gen. Ferrand. The Spaniards of that place, fearful of black domination, had declared themselves in alliance with the French troops, and yielded a peaceable obedience to the French general. Dessalines resolved to break up this union against him, to subdue the Spaniards, and compel the French to evacuate their last fortress. As a preliminary step in his design he determined to make a military tour along the coast, to visit the different towns within the French territory, both to give completeness to his measures of internal policy and assure himself that he was to leave no enemies behind him in his march against Santo Domingo. Some days before his departure on his journey through his dominions he addressed a proclamation to the inhab-

itants of the Spanish territory, in which he reproached them for their perfidy in associating themselves with his enemies, the French; and he commanded them to return to their duty. He added, that he was on his way to their capital at the head of his victorious legions, and if they would submit peaceably to his authority he promised them his protection and favor. But at the same time he denounced against them a horrible vengeance if they dared to array themselves against his power. "But a few moments yet remain," said this haughty manifesto, "and I shall crush the last remnants of the French under the weight of my power. Spaniards, I only address you from a wish to save you. You will soon live but by my clemency—there is time yet—abjure an error that may be fatal to you—break off all connexion with my enemies, if you would not that your blood should be confounded with theirs. I allow you fifteen days to rally to my standard. You know of what I am capable. Think of your safety. Accept the oath which I tender to you to watch over your personal safety, if you profit by this occasion to show yourselves worthy of being numbered among the children of Hayti."

On the 14th of May Dessalines departed from Cape Francois to proceed to Port de Paix, the Mole St. Nicholas and Gonaives. In each of these towns he remained a few days, and employed himself in establishing order and carrying forward the measures of his administration. After assuring himself of the tranquillity of the western part of the island, he placed himself at the head of his army and took up his march into the heart of the Spanish territory. He believed the success of his expedition certain, without taking into consideration the obstacles which were in his way. His evil reputation as the scourge of his race had already become known throughout the territory he had invaded, and though the inhabitants fled at his approach they refused to yield an obedience to his authority. Nor could he hope for the climate to cooperate with him in warring against such an enemy; for the population of the Spanish territory was chiefly composed of natives of the country, and was almost entirely of the African race. When that territory had been overrun by Toussaint its population was composed of more than a

hundred thousand freemen and about fifteen thousand slaves. The latter served their masters rather as favored domestics than as menials governed with the ordinary severity of slave discipline. They were strongly attached to their owners, and they had been taught from generation to generation to cherish sentiments of national hatred toward the inhabitants of the French part of the island.

Dessalines encountered no opposition to his progress until he arrived before the city of Santo Domingo. If the Spanish blacks had not arrayed themselves against him, they had concealed themselves from him, or doggedly refused to coöperate with his army, and he now found the population of Santo Domingo prepared for active resistance to his arms, and in close alliance with the French, to defend the place to the last extremity. Dessalines closely invested the city on the side of the land, but just as he was commencing his preparations to persevere in his enterprize until he had accomplished his object, another French squadron arrived in the harbor with a reinforcement of troops to the garrison of the place. The French, encouraged and strengthened by this addition to their numbers, would have driven the army of Dessalines from before the city, but the black chief foreseeing the difficulties in the way of his success had already determined to raise the seige, and he commenced his retreat without having encountered his enemy in a single battle.\*

But if Dessalines was disappointed in his hope of subduing the Spanish territory to his authority, he found himself firmly established in his power over the blacks of his own part of the island. The unrestrained sovereignty with which he had been entrusted by his compatriots made him now dissatisfied with the modest nature of his title, and awakened within him an ambitious desire to add to his real absolutism the rank and decorations of a monarch. Napoleon had just raised himself to the imperial dignity, and Dessalines, possessing an equal extent of power over the blacks of St. Domingo, sought to imitate his great exemplar by assuming a station among princes. This design once formed, its execution was commenced without a moment's hesitation. An assembly of the representatives of the people was convoked at Port

\* Malo.

an Prince by Dessalines, who, possessing a direct control over all the movements of the government, took especial care that these representatives of the people should be taken from the ranks of his most devoted partisans, and that they should constitute an assembly which would interpose no opposition to his will. After a few days spent in the mockery of deliberation, while all their labors had been already prepared to their hands, these legislators terminated their session by offering to the world a new constitution for the country, though a year had not yet elapsed since the epoch of its independence and the adoption of a system of government destined to be perpetual.

The new assembly inscribed the names of its members upon the new constitution, and declared "in the presence of the Supreme Being, in whose sight all men are equal, and who has placed so many creatures upon the earth to manifest his glory and power by the diversity of his works—and in the presence of all nations who had so long and so unjustly regarded the negroes as a bastard race, that the constitution which they offered to the world was the free expression of their hearts, and the general wish of their constituents." By a preliminary declaration they erected the free state of Hayti into a sovereign and independent empire. Slavery was decreed for the fiftieth time to be forever abolished, and the citizens were informed that they were all equal in the estimation of the law. Property was declared inviolable, and the rights of citizenship were pronounced to belong only to those who remained peaceably in the country without making any attempt to emigrate abroad, or to those who made no abuse of those privileges by becoming bankrupts. The possession of property in the island was forbidden to whites of all nations, excepting those only who had been previously adopted as citizens, and some Germans and Poles who had incorporated themselves with the blacks of the country. To banish from the country the term *negro*, so offensive to the sensitiveness of the new citizens, all the inhabitants of the country, of whatever color, were required to assume the generic appellation of blacks. It was further declared that he who was not a good father, a good husband, and above all, a good soldier, was unworthy to be called a Haytien citizen. It was not permitted

to fathers to disinherit their children, and every person was required by law to exercise some mechanical art.

The empire of Hayti, one and indivisible, was composed of six military divisions, each to be under the command of a general officer, who was independent of his associates who governed in other districts, as he was responsible to the head of the state alone. The supreme government was formally conferred upon Jean Jaques Desalines, the avenger and liberator of his countrymen, who was to take the title of Emperor and Commander-in-chief of the Army, and to be addressed by the appellation of His Majesty—a dignity which was also conferred upon the empress, his wife; and the persons of both were declared inviolable. The crown was elective, but the power was conferred upon the reigning emperor to select and appoint his successor, by a nomination which required the sanction of the people to give it validity. The empress and the princes of the imperial blood were to be supported at the expense of the state, and the sons of the emperor were to pass through all the grades of the army. It was not permitted to the emperor to surround his throne with a privileged body, under the denomination of guards of honor, or in any other form, and in case of his violating this prohibition he was declared at war with the nation, and deprived of his dignity, which was then to be conferred upon another. The emperor was empowered to make the laws to govern the empire, and to promulgate them under his seal; to appoint all the functionaries of the state, and remove them at his will; to hold the purse of the nation; to make peace and war, and in all things to exercise the rights and privileges of an absolute sovereign.

The black monarch was assisted in wielding this mighty authority by a council of state, composed of generals of division and of brigade. The other high functionaries of government were a secretary of state and two ministers—one for the finances and the interior, and the other for the departments of war and the marine. For the administration of justice throughout the country there was to exist in each commune a justice of the peace, whose judiciary powers extended to all minor offences, and in each arrondissement there was established a high court, to judge in the last resort.



No particular faith in religion was established by law, and toleration was extended to the doctrines and worship of all sects, nor could the supreme head of the state connect the institutions of religion with the operations of his government. All French property in the island was confiscated to the state to constitute a national domain. Marriage was considered as an act purely civil, and the legitimacy of children was determined by a nice scale of distinctions, dependent upon the favor of the father and the rank and consideration of the wife or mistress.

Having framed this new constitution, the assembly, which had been convoked by Dessalines, solemnly committed its preservation to the safeguard of the magistracy, and to the citizens and soldiers of the empire. They recommended it at the same time to their descendants, and to the philanthropists of every country, as a pledge that God in his eternal decrees had permitted them to break their chains, and to constitute themselves a free, civilized, and independent nation.

It is easy to perceive that as Dessalines modelled his ambition upon the previous example of Napoleon, this new constitution of his government is but a parody upon the imperial constitution of France. Some months before this new frame of government was given to the world, Dessalines had already declared himself emperor of Hayti, and thus all the solemn enactments of this new constitution were but a mockery of legislation to serve the wishes of the negro autocrat.

Dessalines quickly surrounded himself with all the pomp and ceremonial of majesty, and upon the 8th of Oct. 1804, the ceremony of his coronation took place at Port au Prince. A temporary amphitheatre had been constructed upon the Place d'Armes of the town, and the troops of the army under Petion were arranged in lines from the palace of the new sovereign to the place of coronation. At the appointed hour Dessalines and the black empress elect passed from their mansion under the escort of a host of civil and military dignitaries of the empire, the foreign merchants of the place, and a company of grenadiers; and the imperial procession proceeded in stately magnificence through the streets of the town, until it arrived at the Place d'Armes. Salutes of artillery, repeated from

the forts of the harbor and the vessels in the port, followed the annunciation of the decree that Jean Jaques Dessalines had been elected the emperor of Hayti. Then the ceremony of coronation took place upon a throne erected in the midst of the amphitheatre, which was surrounded by the great officers of the imperial army. The Pope had been transported from Italy to consecrate Napoleon emperor of the French, and a Capuchin missionary of Cape Francois had been ordered to Port au Prince to dispense the ceremonies of the church to Dessalines. The holy oil was poured upon his head, and he was consecrated and crowned emperor of Hayti under the title of James the First. The procession next proceeded amidst triple salutes of artillery to the church of Port au Prince, where *Te Deum* was chanted in gratitude for the joyous event, which had given a sovereign to Hayti.\*

At the court of the black monarch the ceremonial and costumes of imperial France became immediately fashionable; and although there existed no new created nobility as props to the throne, the grandees of the negro army, who composed the suite of the emperor as commander-in-chief, were employed as substitutes for them.

Dessalines, now arrived at the summit of his highest ambition, employed himself in perfecting his system of internal administration. The negroes of the plantations were placed in the same insignificant station in the government as in the time of Toussaint. They were required to labor upon the soil under the surveillance of the military, and as a remuneration for their work they received one third of the harvest produced by their industry. The law required that idleness should be punished with imprisonment alone, but the officers of Dessalines could not satisfy the requisitions of such a master by the slow and ineffectual operation of a lenity like this. For the whip employed under the ancient régime there had been substituted a massive cane, as an engine of chastisement which inflicted a more extemporaneous punishment, better adapted in its nature and conformity to the severer despotism of the time. The laborers were forbidden under fearful penalties to leave the plantations to which they had been attached, and they could not absent them-

\* Lacroix.

selves from their labor without a written permission from the officer who commanded the district. Most of the plantations were possessed by the government, that is, by Dessalines in person, and these were farmed by the year to the blacks in authority, who were placed in absolute control over all the negroes attached to the estate. The annual rent paid to Dessalines, instead of its being proportioned to the extent or fertility of the land, was in all instances graduated by the number of these citizen-slaves belonging to the plantations. Those mulattoes who were able to obtain satisfactory proofs of heirship to the ancient white proprietors, were placed in possession of the lands belonging to their white progenitors, and those who had descended from the "anciens libres," or the blacks or mulattoes who had been free before the revolution, now formed the aristocracy of the country, and still continued to possess their ancient property, and to employ, as stipendiary laborers, those negroes who had once been their slaves.

The cultivation of the sugar-cane was nearly at an end. The grounds appropriated to that species of agriculture, so long neglected amidst the successive wars and internal convulsions of the country, had now become grown over with rugged thickets, and the mills and other works for the fabrication of sugar were nearly all demolished and in ruins. The chief production of the island had now become that of coffee, but of this there was afforded but a sufficient quantity to load some fifty merchant-ships visiting the different ports of the island. Amidst this failure in the products of cultivation a source of revenue began to be derived from the forests of mahogany and other precious woods, which during the continuance of the richer avails afforded by the cultivation of the sugar-cane had, in the French part of the island, remained totally neglected.

Dessalines seized upon the occasion of his elevation to ascertain the numbers of his subjects in the part of the island which he governed, and after a careful registration it was found that the amount of population was 380,000. Such had been the destructiveness of war, that a vast disproportion was found in the respective numbers of the males and females, and in fact so greatly did the number

of the females exceed that of the males, that almost all the labor upon the soil was now performed by the former. The ties of marriage, if felt at all, hung loosely about the population, and from the black emperor to the general mass of his subjects, there prevailed a universal licentiousness.

The regular army of Dessalines was composed of fifteen thousand men, in which there was included a corps of fifteen hundred cavalry. They were a motley assemblage of ragged blacks, kept in the ranks and performing their limited routine of duty through the awe inspired among them by the rigid severity of the imperial discipline. The uniform of the troops had not been changed when the island was erected into an independent power, and the red and blue of the French army still continued to distinguish the soldiers of the Haytien army, even when the French were execrated as a race of monsters, with whom the blacks of St. Domingo should have nothing in common. Together with the regular army of the empire there existed a numerous corps of national guard, composed of all who were capable of bearing arms; though the services of these were not required but in some dangerous emergency of the state. The national guard and regular army were called into the field four times every year, and during these seasons of military movement, the government of Dessalines was over a nation of soldiers in arms, as they remained in their encampment for some days, to be instructed in military knowledge and to be reviewed by the great officers of the empire.

While Dessalines was seeking by every means to augment the population under his control, he took every precaution that it should not be diminished by emigration. Punishments the most rigorous were denounced against those who should attempt to convey from the ports of the island a citizen of the country; and contracts were maintained with English vessels of war cruising in those seas, to arrest and restore to the island those who were endeavoring to effect their escape.

Although great numbers of the French residents in the island had departed with the troops of that nation in their evacuation of the country, a considerable population of

**whites** had nevertheless remained behind, encouraged by the promises of protection proclaimed by Dessalines. Finding it impossible to effect an escape with their property from the English squadron on the coast, they preferred to remain upon their estates, and to hazard the unknown events of the future, than to leave their homes in penury and destitution and trust to the contingencies of foreign exile. The extraordinary favor which they had enjoyed under the administration of Toussaint filled them with hope that they would still be permitted to remain unmolested by his present successor, and attachment to their native home and to the interests of property urged them to brave the cold-blooded cruelty of a man, whose merciless character was already proverbial.

It is impossible to suppose the real intentions of Dessalines when he so formally offered his protection to the whites of the country, and dispatched proclamations to invite the return of those who were abroad, if all these professions of amity were not for the single purpose of multiplying the number of his victims. Some months after the evacuation of the country by the French, an incendiary proclamation had been spread abroad, breathing sentiments of eternal hatred to the French, and inflaming the negroes to avenge the slaughter of their brethren by sacrificing all Frenchmen among them upon the altar of their vengeance. "The French name," says this mild document, "still spreads sorrow throughout our land, and recalls to our recollection the cruelties of that savage race: and does there yet remain a Frenchman among us? The victims for fourteen years of our credulity and of our clemency, when shall we at last be weary of breathing the same air with them? What have we in common with these sanguinary men? Their cruelty contrasted with our moderation—their color to ours—the extent of ocean which separates us—our climate so destructive to them, all declare plainly that they are not our brethren and never can become such. You who have restored to us our liberty at the expense of your blood, know, that you have done nothing, if you delay giving to the nations a terrible example of your vengeance. Let us intimidate those who would tear from us our liberty, and let us commence with the French. Let them tremble as they ap-

proach our shores, and let us devote to death every Frenchman who dares to pollute with his presence this land of liberty. Peace with our neighbors—but cursed be the name of Frenchman—eternal hatred to France.”

This ferocious manifesto was intended as a preliminary measure in the train of horrible events to follow. In the month of February, 1805, orders were issued for the pursuit and arrest of all those Frenchmen who had been accused of being accomplices in the executions ordered by Rochambeau. Dessalines pretended that more than sixty thousand of his compatriots had been drowned, suffocated, hung or shot, in these massacres. “We adopt this measure,” said he, “to teach the nations of the world, that notwithstanding the protection which we grant to those who are loyal towards us, nothing shall prevent us from punishing the murderers, who have taken pleasure in bathing their hands in the blood of the sons of Hayti.”

These instigations were not long in producing their appropriate consequences among a population for so many years trained to cruelty, and that hated the French in their absence in the same degree that they feared them when present. On the 28th of April it was ordered by proclamation that all the French residents in the island should be put to death, and this inhuman command of Dessalines was eagerly obeyed by his followers, particularly by the mulattoes, who had to manifest a flaming zeal for their new sovereign, in order to save themselves from falling victims to his sanguinary vengeance. Acting under the dread surveillance of Dessalines, all the black chiefs were forced to show themselves equally cruel, and if any French were saved from death it was due to the mercy of the inferior blacks, who dared not to avow their generosity. Dessalines made a progress through all the towns where there were any French citizens remaining, and while his soldiers were murdering the unfortunate victims of his ferocity, the monster gloated with secret complacency over the scene of carnage like some malignant fiend, glorying in the pangs of misery suffered by those who had fallen a sacrifice to his wickedness.

The massacre was executed with an attention to order which proves how minutely it had been prepared. All proper precautions were taken that no other whites

than the French should be included in the proscription. In the town of Cape Francois, where the massacre took place on the night of the 20th of April, the precaution was first taken of sending detachments of soldiers to the houses of the American and English merchants, with strict orders to permit no person to enter them, not even the black generals, without the permission of the master of the house, who had been previously informed of all that was about to happen. This command was obeyed so punctually, that one of these privileged individuals had the good fortune to preserve the lives of a number of Frenchmen whom he had concealed in his house, and who remained in their asylum until the guilty tragedy was over.

The priests, surgeons, and some necessary artisans were preserved from destruction, consisting in all of one tenth of the French residents. All the rest were massacred without regard to age or sex. The personal security enjoyed by the foreign whites was no safeguard to the horror inspired in them by the scenes of misery which were being enacted without. At every moment of the night the noise was heard of axes, which were employed to burst open the doors of the neighboring houses, of piercing cries followed by a death-like silence, soon however to be changed to a renewal of the same sounds of grief and terror, as the soldiers proceeded from house to house.

When this night of horror and massacre was over the treacherous cruelty of Dessalines was not yet appeased. An imperial proclamation was issued in the morning, alleging that the blacks were sufficiently avenged upon the French, and inviting all who had escaped the assassinations of the previous night to make their appearance upon the Place d'Armes of the town, in order to receive certificates of protection; and it was declared to them that in doing this they might count upon perfect safety to themselves. Many hundreds of the French had been forewarned of the massacre, and by timely concealment had succeeded in preserving their lives. Completely circumvented by the fiendish cunning of Dessalines, this little remnant of survivors came out of their places of concealment and formed themselves in a body upon the Place d'Armes. But at the moment when they were anxiously

expecting their promised certificates of safety, the order was given for their execution. The stream of water which flowed through the town of Cape Francois was fairly tinged with their blood.\*

By this ferocious measure the French residents were exterminated throughout the island, for the agents of Dessalines showed little backwardness in a transaction so conformable to their own fierce wishes, and so capable of giving them favor in the eyes of their ruling chief. But amidst this barbarous spirit so universal, a few redeeming exceptions existed as bright spots in the gloomy character of a savage nation. A faithful old black, who in the changes of the revolution had by degrees risen to the rank of a colonelcy in the negro service, resolved to preserve the son of his master from being sacrificed in this extermination of his countrymen. In the honest boldness of his heart he hoped to succeed in softening the nature of Dessalines—and hastening into his presence he besought him to spare the life of the young Frenchman, alleging that as a slave he had experienced nothing but kindness and generosity from his ancient master, and that he wished to repay the debt of gratitude which he owed for such good usage, by rescuing the son of his former benefactor from the danger which threatened him. But the black monarch, enraged at this meditated clemency in his officer, sternly ordered him from his presence without replying to his solicitations. The black subaltern was not, however, to be turned from his generous intentions, and taking fifty men from his regiment he seized upon the person of the young white and carried him aboard a vessel lying in the harbor of Jeremie.

Many of the great chiefs in the black army were struck with horror and disgust at this fiendlike cruelty of their emperor. Christophe was shocked at the atrocity of the measure, though such was the ascendancy of Dessalines over him that he dared not display any open opposition to the will of the monarch. Telemaque and another black officer dared, however, to manifest their abhorrence of these scenes of carnage. For this display of humanity they were ordered by Dessalines to hang with their own hands two Frenchmen who had been discovered in the

\* Malo.



fort which they commanded. Dessalines had no troublesome sensibilities of soul to harass his repose for a transaction almost without a parallel in history. He sought not to share the infamy of the action with the subordinate chiefs of his army, but without a pang of remorse he claimed to himself the whole honor of the measure. In another proclamation, given to the world within a few days after the massacre, he boasts of having shown more than ordinary firmness, and affects to put his system of policy in opposition to the lenity of Toussaint, whom he accuses, if not of want of patriotism, at least of want of firmness in his public conduct. Dessalines was prompted to the share he took in this transaction by an inborn ferociousness of character, but a spirit of personal vengeance doubtlessly had its effect upon the subordinate agents in the massacre. They hated the French for the cruelties of Rochambeau, or with the cowardly spirit of the negro delighted in taking vengeance upon those who, though now placed within their power, were once their masters or conquerors, and at whose name they trembled.

Although the complete evacuation of the island by the forces of the French and the ceaseless employment of the armies of Napoleon in the wars of Europe had left the negroes of St. Domingo in the full possession of that island, Dessalines lived in continual dread that the first moment of leisure would be seized by the conqueror of Europe to attempt the subjugation of his new empire. The black chief even alleged in excuse for the massacre which he had just accomplished, that the French residents in the island had been engaged in machinations against the dominion of the blacks, and that several French frigates then lying at St. Jago de Cuba had committed hostilities upon the coast, and seemed threatening a descent upon the island. Influenced by this perpetual solicitude Dessalines now turned his attention to measures of defence in case the French should again undertake the reduction of the country. It was ordered that at the first appearance of a foreign army ready to land upon the shores of the island, all the towns upon the coast should be burnt to the ground, and the whole population be driven to the fastnesses of the interior.

In accordance with this policy the ports of the island

were left without protection, and the guns which had been designed to guard the entrance to the harbors were transported to the mountains of the interior, many of which were crowned with immense fortifications and destined as places of refuge from an invading enemy. To fortify one of these inland retreats, the cannon of the forts in the harbor of Cape Francois had been transported at immense labor, and mounted in their new situation.

The vicinity of these fortified eminences was planted thickly with plaintains, yams, and other means of sustenance, the growth of the country; and furnished in this manner with the necessary resources of an army, it was estimated that the blacks when besieged in these fortresses might gather a sufficiency of the means of subsistence for themselves without advancing beyond the protection of their own cannon. The greater number of these heights which had thus been furnished with fortifications possessed upon one of their sides an easy ascent to the top, and upon the very crest of the summit walls and bastions were erected, which effectually commanded all the approaches to the base of the mountain.

A point preferred by Dessalines beyond all others as a place of retreat from an enemy, was the plantation Marchand—a spot in the neighborhood of Crete a Pierrot—and like that situated in the plain of the Artibonite. Here in a nook formed by a sudden change of direction in the spur of a steep and almost perpendicular mountain, there spreads out in one direction a long slope of level country, once a vast extent of rice grounds. At the foot of the mountain Dessalines erected a multitude of habitations for the accommodation of a fugitive population in a moment of danger, and upon the mountain tops overhanging them the labor of thousands was expended in the erection of immense fortifications, to render the advance of an enemy in front impossible. These huge stone bastions towering in the clouds, were mounted with a hundred cannon, capable of sweeping the country beneath for an extent of several leagues; and in order to secure to the garrison a perpetual supply of water, another fortress of still greater strength was placed at a spot where the spur of mountain terminates; and this enclosed within its walls a bountiful supply of water, sufficient to furnish

all the mountain fortresses above. To a spot like this Dessalines determined to make his last retreat in a case of emergency, protecting his troops and population by the wide sweep of his guns, and ready to make a descent at any favorable moment upon an extensive tract of territory embracing the whole rich plain of the Artibonite.

At the commencement of the revolution Dessalines was the slave of a black residing at Cape Francois, whose name was Dessalines. This name of his master was afterwards assumed by the black chieftain, to which as his fortunes grew he added the politer appellation of Jean Jaques. By his activity and singular fierceness in the field he attracted the notice of Toussaint, who placed him among his guides, or corps of personal attendants; and he subsequently advanced him rapidly through several intermediate grades to the dignity of being the second in command. The old negro who had once been the owner of Dessalines still resided at Cape Francois, and saw his ancient slave now become his sovereign. He was by occupation a tiler, and Dessalines had spent his early life in laboring in that employment. Though gloomy and sullen to all others about his person, the black monarch treated his former master with much favor. He had attached him to his household and made him his chief butler. Educated as a slave, and furnished with few intellectual endowments in his nature, Dessalines was entirely ignorant of learning, as the utmost extent he had acquired in the way of instruction was limited to the mere capability of signing his name. He retained among his attendants a person to read to him the public journals of the time, and he listened with much interest to the accounts given of those mighty events which were then taking place in Europe. He professed much fondness for the speeches of Wilberforce upon the nature and prospects of the African race and for the abolition of the slave trade.

Though Dessalines made no pretensions to the sanctity of Toussaint, he manifested a desire for the maintenance of the Catholic faith among his subjects. The French priests who had been spared from the massacre of their countrymen, and the Spanish ecclesiastics obtained from the eastern part of the island, formed a body of clergy sufficient for the religious instruction of the population of

the empire. The stated ministrations of the church were duly observed in every parish, and for purposes of policy or for some more worthy motive, Dessalines treated the priests of his religion with much consideration, and manifested a great respect for the ceremonies of the church. The blacks were commanded to have their children baptised, and schools were established for their education.

Dessalines was short in stature, but thick and muscular. His complexion was a dingy black; his eyes were prominent and scowling, and the lines of his features expressed the untamed ferocity of his character. Military talents have been ascribed to him, superior even to those possessed by Touissant, but his courage in the field was the headlong fury of the tiger, and he was totally incapable of any science or tact to form extensive military combinations. In measures of public policy Toussaint was to him as Hyperion to a satyr—for Dessalines never originated a single measure beyond the conception of the dullest mediocrity. The events which conducted him to his high elevation over the rest of his countrymen all had their origin in the terror, and perhaps confidence, inspired by his determined fierceness. There were seasons when he broke through his natural sullenness, and showed himself open, affable, and even generous. His vanity was excessive, and manifested itself in singular perversities. He was delighted with embroidery and ornaments. At times he appeared to his subjects clothed in magnificent decorations, and upon other occasions his costume was plain even to meanness.

A ridiculous propensity of the black emperor was displayed in his desire to manifest himself to his subjects as an accomplished dancer. A dancing master followed him wherever he went, and every moment of leisure was devoted to his lessons. The most honeyed flattery was powerless over his vanity when compared with compliments directed to his grace in dancing. The latter, however, could not be always done but at the expense of truth; as, like all other negroes, his movements were awkward, and his dancing was not such as to call forth unmeasured praise from a Parisian dilettante in the art.

Dessalines had been married twice, and the empress,

his second wife, had once been the favorite mistress of a wealthy colonist, who had conferred upon her an education. She enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most beautiful negresses in the West-Indies, and by her amiable character she had much influence in softening the savage temper of her husband. But to entrust a man like Dessalines with supreme power was not a likely method to restrain his character to humanity and mildness. Always violent and sanguinary, when there remained no whites upon whom to employ his ferocity his cruelty was lavished upon his own subjects. For the slightest causes both blacks and mulattoes were put to death without mercy and without the forms of trial. The sight of blood awakened within him his desire of slaughter, and his government became at length a fearful despotism, against the devouring vengeance of which none, not even those of his own household, were safe. The generals Clervaux, Greffard and Gabart died suddenly and mysteriously, and the aggressions of Dessalines directed particularly against the mulattoes, soon awakened the vengeance of that jealous race, who were already displeased at their insignificance in the state, and at the exaltation of a black dynasty which seemed about to become permanent in the country. A secret conspiracy was accordingly planned against the black monarch, and when, on the 17th of October, 1806, he commenced a journey from St. Marks to Port au Prince, the occasion was improved to destroy him. A party of mulattoes lying in ambuscade at a place called Pont Rouge, made an attack upon him, and he fell in the first fire.

The victorious mulattoes followed up their success by attacking the partisans of Dessalines, and four days were expended in destroying them. Upon the 21st there appeared a proclamation, portraying the crimes of the fallen emperor, and announcing that the country had been delivered of a tyrant. A provisional government was then constituted, to continue until time could be afforded for the formation of a new constitution, and Gen. Christophe was proclaimed the provisional head of the state.

This was a virtual revolution, and Christophe regarded the provisional appointment of himself as the chief of the army, to govern *ad interim*, until a new government

could be formed, as sufficient evidence that he was to be excluded from any participation in the new distribution of power. The execution of four generals and a multitude of black officers, the adherents of Dessalines, made him distrust the designs of the mulattoes, to whose agency alone the death of the black emperor was to be ascribed. Concealing his suspicions, however, under a professed readiness to obey the will of the people, he convoked at Port au Prince the assembly which was to form the new constitution, and under pretence of ensuring freedom of debate he filled the town with troops. This arrangement of the military force dissatisfied the mulattoes, as it cut off their communication with each other, and favored the designs of Christophe, who was thus possessed of power to overawe the assembly to yield to his desires. But the intrigues of the mulattoes defeated the plans of the black general. It had been intended that the assembly should not consist of more than fifty-six members; but the mulattoes in the neighborhood of Port au Prince were secretly instructed to elect eighteen others to represent that district, and this unexpected addition to the assembly ensured a majority on the side of the mulattoes. A new constitution was adopted, and Petion, the mulatto commander of Port au Prince, was elected President of the Republic of Hayti.\*

\* Lacroix.

## CHAPTER V.

**War between Christophe and Petion—Battle of Cibert—Account of Christophe—He founds another government in the North—Account of Petion—Military operations of Petion's forces under Gen. Lamarre—The Maroons under Gomar—The French driven from Santo Domingo—Siege of St. Marks—Arrival of Rigaud—Treaty between him and Petion at Miragoane—Christophe makes his government an hereditary monarchy—His nobility and Order of St. Henry—His palace of Sans Souci and the citadel Henry—New hostilities between Petion and Rigaud—Death of the latter.**

CHRISTOPHE was at St. Marks when the intelligence of this triumph of his opponents reached him. Enraged and disappointed at an event by which he had been robbed of his claims to the vacant sovereignty of Hayti, he openly refused his allegiance to the new president, and assuming a hostile attitude he began immediate preparations to obtain by conquest what had been refused him by right of succession, and as he thought, of merit. The ambitious and haughty mulattoes had been long dissatisfied with the obscure condition into which they had been thrown by the predominance of the blacks; and having now placed one of their number at the head of affairs they were rejoiced that their caste had at length been restored to its legitimate weight in the government, and were not in the humor to see the fair fabric of their hopes destroyed through the hostile designs of Christophe.

The black general, having aroused the military force under his command to aid him in the support of his pretensions, was already on his march to Port au Prince, to drive the obnoxious assembly from its sittings and to assume the government in his own person. Petion advanced to meet him, and the campaign was opened on the 1st of January, 1807, by the battle of Cibert. In this contest the impetuosity of Christophe's attack was more than a match for the skill and science of Petion, and the new president was defeated in his first enterprise against the enemy of his government. The ranks of Petion were soon thrown into irretrievable confusion, and in a few minutes they were driven from the field—Petion himself being hotly pursued in his flight, finding it necessary in

order to the preservation of his life, to exchange his decorations for the garb of a negro whom he encountered in his way, and to bury himself up to the neck in a marsh until his fierce pursuers had disappeared.

After this signal success Christophe pressed forward to Port au Prince and laid siege to that town, in the hope of an easy triumph over his rival. But Petion was now in his appropriate sphere of action, and Christophe soon discovered that in contending against an experienced engineer in a fortified town success was of more difficult attainment than while encountering the same enemy in the open field, where his science could not be brought into action. Christophe could make no impression on the town, and feeling ill assured of the steadfastness of his own proper government at Cape Francois, he withdrew his forces from the investment of Port au Prince, resolved to establish in the North a separate government of his own, and to defer to some more favorable opportunity the attempt to subdue his rival at Port au Prince. Thus placing themselves in hostile array against each other, the two chiefs of Hayti employed themselves in strengthening and establishing their respective governments, and in attempts to gain over the different parts of the island to an acknowledgment of their authority. Christophe assumed the title of President of the State, and Petion of the Republic, and the inhabitants of the country conferred their allegiance according to the opinions of their chiefs or the places of their residence.

Christophe was a negro of St. Christophers, who had come to St. Domingo in his youth, and at the time of the first insurrection in the north of the island he resided at Cape Francois, employed as maitre d'hotel in the principal café of that town. From strength of natural genius, as well as from his occupying a station in life above the ordinary condition of his race, he had acquired a considerable knowledge of the prevalent manners and opinions of that society of which he was a daily spectator—and he had thus become furnished to an unusual extent, not only with a stock of information much beyond that possessed by the mass of his countrymen, but with a grace and polish of external deportment of which the negro race in general is utterly incapable. Though far inferior



to Toussaint in vigor and originality of mind, and especially in a capacity for deep and complicated intrigue, he was much his superior in acquaintance with the customs and opinions of men, and in that dignified propriety of personal conduct which arises from habits of quick perception amidst the minor transactions of society. He had been the friend and companion of Toussaint, and while Dessalines was employed by the latter in the execution of whatever was more odious in his policy, Christophe was retained about his person, or employed as his lieutenant and the representative of his sovereignty as military commandant of the North. In this situation his conduct had been such as to attach to his person the whites who resided in his government, and to secure the respect and friendship of the better class of blacks and mulattoes. His habits had been social, and among the recipients of his hospitality he had obtained the reputation of a bon vivant, as, though he was not given to large potations, he retained the habits of his early life, and professed himself a refined and delicate connoisseur in the tastes and qualities of the wines at his table. He had been fond of giving entertainments to the foreign merchants of Cape Francois, and he was highly pleased when English navy officers honored him by attending his banquets. He spoke English fluently, though he seldom employed that language, and he possessed a strong partiality for the English nation, which he displayed by attempts to secure the friendship and alliance of that government, and by acts of kindness and courtesy toward individuals of the favored people. Strangers had often remarked of Christophe that his conduct and deportment had in them an air of gentlemanly courtesy and native majesty, which appeared eminently striking when observed in a negro.

The successes of Christophe in his late campaign against his rival at Port au Prince had encouraged him with the hope of obtaining a complete conquest over him, when he had strengthened and confirmed his power over the blacks of the North. The greater part of this province had already declared for him, and refused to acknowledge the new president at Port au Prince, who had been taken from among the mulattoes of the South. In this

state of public feeling Christophe proceeded to issue a series of proclamations and addresses to the people and the army, encouraging them to hope for a better era about to arise under his auspices, in which the evils of foreign invasion and the disaster of intestine disturbance were to cease, and the wounds of the country to be healed by the restoration of peace and tranquillity. He manifested a desire to encourage the prosperity of commerce and agriculture, and by thus fostering individual enterprise to ensure the happiness of the people under his rule. To support the credit of his government among the commercial nations abroad, he dispatched a manifesto to each of them, with a design to remove the distrust which had begun to be entertained in the mercantile world of the new governments of Hayti. It was announced in these dispatches that the store-houses and magazines of the island were crowded and overflowing with the rich productions of the Antilles, awaiting the arrival of foreign vessels to exchange for them the produce and fabrics of other lands; that the vexatious regulations and ignorant prohibitions of his predecessor no longer existed to interfere with the commercial prosperity of the island; and that protection and encouragement would be granted to commercial factors from abroad, who should come to reside in the ports of the country.\*

Christophe felt that his assumption of power was but a usurpation, and that so long as his government remained in operation without the formal sanction of the people his rival at Port au Prince possessed immense advantages over him, inasmuch as he had been made the constituted head of the country by an observance of the forms of the constitution. To remedy this palpable defect, which weakened his authority, he resolved to frame another constitution, which would confirm him in the power he had usurped, and furnish him with a legal excuse for maintaining his present attitude. In accordance with this policy he convoked another assembly at Cape Fran-

\* Dessalines had endeavored to drive all foreign merchants from the country, and in his stupidity he thought to regulate commerce as he governed negroes. By arbitrary regulations he attempted to compel foreign vessels to deliver their cargoes to native consignees, appointed to reside in the different ports of the island. They were empowered to sell or embezzle the cargoes of foreign vessels, by an appropriation to each consignee of a ship in the order of its arrival.

cois, composed of the generals of his army and the principal citizens of that province, and after a short session these subservient legislators terminated their labors by giving to the world another constitution of the country, dated upon the 17th of February, 1807. This new enactment declared all persons residing upon the territory of Hayti, free citizens, and that the government was to be administered by a supreme magistrate, who was to take the title of President of the State and General-in-Chief of the land and naval forces. The office was not hereditary, but the president had the right to choose his successor from among the generals of the army; and associated with him in the government there was to exist a Council of State, consisting of nine members, selected by the president from among the principal military chiefs. This, like the constitution which conferred power upon Dessalines, made Christophe an autocrat, though he was nominally but the mere chief magistrate of a republic.

The rival government of Port au Prince differed from that of Christophe by its possessing more of the forms of a republic. With a president who held his power for life, and who could not directly appoint his successor, there was associated a legislative body consisting of a chamber of representatives chosen directly by the people, and a senate appointed by the popular branch of the government, to sustain or control the president in the exercise of his authority.\* Petion was a quateroon, the successor of Rigaud and Clervaux to the confidence and favor of the mulattoes. He was a person of education and refined manners. He had been educated at the military school of Paris, and had ever been characterized for his mildness of temper and the insinuating grace of his address. He was a skillful engineer, and at the time of his elevation to power he passed for the most scientific officer and the most erudite individual among his race. Attached to the person and following the fortunes of Rigaud, he had acted as his lieutenant against Toussaint, and had accompanied his commander to France. Here he remained until the departure of Leclerc, when he embarked in that disastrous expedition, to employ his services in restoring his country again to the dominion of

\* Lacroix.

France. He associated himself with Clervaux in his defection from Leclerc, and turning against his late allies he fought in the ranks of Christophe in the last struggle with the French. He enjoyed the favor of Dessalines, who had promoted him through many successive posts of honor to the government of his capital. He continued in this capacity to command the troops of Port au Prince until the moment when he was called to the more arduous employment of ruling the wayward destinies of the new republic.

Although the inhabitants of that part of the island in the immediate vicinity of Cape Francois had settled quietly under the rule of Christophe, those of several places along the northern coast had openly proclaimed their adherence to the more legitimate government of Petion. In fact the whole peninsula of the Mole St. Nicholas, from Port de Paix to Gonaives, either rejected the authority of Christophe or were ill-assured in their fidelity to his government. The towns of Jean Rabel, the Mole St. Nicholas and Gonaives set his authority at open defiance, and made no secret of their attachment to his rival. This sweeping defection tore one third of the territory of his own peculiar province from the sway of the black chief, whose dominions were thus narrowed to the single plain of Cape Francois. In this condition of things Christophe found it necessary to hasten his preparations for war, particularly as his adversary on his part was making ready to sustain the inhabitants of those places who, by having transferred their allegiance to him, had incurred the hatred of Christophe. Petion by this diversion in his favor was furnished with means to preserve his capital from being again attacked by the black chief, and he was left at leisure to strengthen and confirm himself in his government. The partisans of Christophe had been driven from Gonaives, and the officers of its garrison having declared themselves for Petion, a small detachment of the troops of the republic had been thrown into the place, to watch the movements of Christophe and serve as an outpost on the limits of Petion's territory.

Christophe opened the campaign by marching his forces on Gonaives, which, in the month of June, 1807, he invested with his whole army. The troops of the republic

succeeded for a few days in maintaining themselves against the furious assaults of their enemy, but being overwhelmed by numbers and furnished with no entrenchments to protect them, and no communication with the main body of their army, they found it necessary to evacuate the town, and to escape by sea to Port au Prince.

Christophe, encouraged by this success, put his troops in motion to invade the territories of the republic. The town of St. Marks had remained nominally under the authority of Christophe, though its chief commander, Bazelais, had manifested a disposition to declare his adherence to Petion. The latter had been informed of this secret inclination of Bazelais, and had ordered the forces of the republic, then in occupation of Arcahale, to move upon St. Marks, rather to accept the allegiance of its inhabitants than to commence hostilities against the place. But scarcely had this movement been accomplished, and the town invested by the republican army, when tidings arrived of the advance of Christophe, who had already been successful over the troops of Petion at Gonaïves. Unwilling to hazard a general battle, which might prove more disastrous than that of Cibert, and at such a crisis make the triumph of Christophe over his rival complete, the chiefs of Petion's army determined to retire from their position before St. Marks and to return to Port au Prince. They were induced to this decision by the flight of Bazelais, who, distrusting the resources of the republic against its warlike adversary, and fearful that his meditated treason might be severely punished by Christophe, who had already begun to give evidence of that tyrannical character which afterwards became more fearfully developed, had abdicated his authority at St. Marks, and made his escape to Port au Prince.

Petion now determined to carry the war into Christophe's own territory, as the readiest method of preserving his own capital from being besieged by his enemy. A considerable detachment of the republican army was ordered to embark from Port au Prince under the command of Gen. Lamarre, destined to seize upon the town of Port de Paix, on the northern coast. The inhabitants of that town were divided in their partialities between the two belligerent rulers of the country; but the arrival of La-

marre turned the scale in favor of Petion,—and even the troops that had been placed by Christophe in garrison at that place manifested the lukewarm condition of their loyalty by going over in a body to join the enemies of their commander-in-chief. A lodgment being thus easily effected by the troops of the republic within the very heart of Christophe's dominions, Gen. Lamarre began to make preparations to follow up his success by carrying his conquests into the plain of Cape Francois. Christophe, alarmed and indignant at this bold measure of Petion, hastened back from St. Marks to preserve his own territory from this formidable invasion, and his rival was thus left in quiet to resume the march of his policy, and employ his emissaries to scatter defection throughout the dominions of Christophe.

Lamarre soon found himself compelled to retreat before the forces of Christophe, and abandoning his position among the mountains of St. Louis he fell back from post to post until he arrived at his entrenchments in Port de Paix. Here he attempted to make head against the farther advance of Christophe, who, repulsed in his attempts to carry the town by assault, found it necessary to besiege it in due form. A continued succession of attacks was kept up for fifteen days, when Gen. Lamarre, unable to hold out in his resistance against so vigorous an enemy sustained by such superiority of numbers, found himself compelled to abandon the forts of the town, after having lost a greater part of his force, killed or made prisoners to the enemy. Lamarre retired several leagues from the place and seized upon an advantageous position situate among the mountains of that neighborhood, while the army of Christophe, exhausted by the desperate efforts to which it had been subjected to effect the retreat of Lamarre, contented itself with the possession of Port de Paix without continuing its operations against the republican general. The latter hastened to send intelligence to Petion, describing the dangers of his situation, and a new reinforcement was quickly dispatched to his assistance. The arrival of these fresh succors enabled Lamarre to maintain himself in his position, and to wait a favorable moment to regain the territory which he had lost. Christophe having refreshed his troops put them again in motion

against his opponent, but the latter succeeded in repelling all his attacks, though Christophe at the head of his staff had once forced his way to the very glacis of his works, and every thing seemed for a moment on the point of being lost.

Though Petion had succeeded in removing the theatre of hostilities to a distance from his capital, and had, as he thought, given his military rival sufficient employment within his own territory, Christophe now availed himself of the condition of Grande Anse, a district of the South, to create a diversion in his favor. This district had for a long time been devastated by the inroads of a gang of maroon negroes under the command of a brigand named Gomar. Concealing themselves in the caverns and mountain fastnesses of La Hotte, they descended at an unexpected moment into the plains below, and committed such depredation that the track of their inroad was swept with ruin as by a hurricane. The government at Port au Prince had employed itself unceasingly to break up this formidable association, but without success. Upon the approach of an expedition against them the maroons escaped to secret recesses among the mountains known only to themselves, where they remained in concealment until the troops were withdrawn from the neighborhood, when their ravages were resumed with more fierceness than ever.

An emissary was now dispatched by Christophe to offer large temptations to these bandit negroes to ally themselves to his cause, and to change their excursions for purposes of plunder to the murderous operations of war, directed against the territories of his rival. The maroons were easily persuaded to an alliance which gave a coloring of lawfulness to their predatory expeditions; and under favor of this league their ravages became more terrible than ever. The whole coast from Leogane to Jeremie was made a complete desert by the destructive inroads of these marauders. No place was secure from their attacks, and the terror of their exploits drove from the plantations all the laboring negroes. Their prisoners were tortured, mutilated, or slain; and when all cultivation was at an end, and the country had been completely cleared of its inhabitants, the maroons began to extend

their incursions to the very towns themselves. In consequence of the failure of all military enterprises against them, negotiations were commenced by Petion to purchase their neutrality, but they had already been retained by largesses from another quarter, and they remained the worst enemies of Petion's government.

Petion now resolved upon another attempt to obtain possession of St. Marks, and that town was invested by his forces during the latter part of October. But here he was destined to another overthrow. Christophe flew to the defence of the town, and upon the day after his arrival the forces of the republic were attacked in their entrenchments upon two neighboring plantations, one of which was immediately carried by the assailants, and the scene of the battle was changed to the plantation Florenceau, where, after a desperate conflict, the fortune of Christophe prevailed and the republican forces were forced to retreat, after having lost a great number who were taken prisoners by Christophe, and leaving the works choked up with dead. Christophe's ferocity had now become fully awakened, in consequence of the unparalleled exertions he had made to obtain but barren results, and he wreaked his vengeance upon the prisoners he had taken from the ranks of his hated rival. Almost all who had been captured were subjected to torture and death, and the woods and thickets were filled with fugitives concealing themselves from his soldiers, whose arms were already stained with the blood of their brethren. Many who had escaped from their pursuers perished with hunger in their hiding places, while others fled to the seashore to escape in boats from their ruthless conquerors.

After strengthening the garrison of St. Marks, to secure that town from the future attempts of Petion, Christophe returned to Gonaives, and crossing the country by way of Gros Morne he reconnoitered the position of Lamarre, and employed himself in increasing the fortifications of Port de Paix, to enable it to make a sufficient defence in case of its being attacked by the republican general. Christophe now ceased for a time from his long efforts against his rival, which had been productive of so little durable advantage to his cause. He found it necessary to the very existence of his government to turn his atten-



tion to the protection of agriculture within his territory, which was gradually changing into a wilderness, while all its effective population were employed in the operations of war.

The black chief now availed himself of an opportunity that presented itself to propitiate the favor of the English government, and turn the hatred of that nation against Petion. The report had been spread abroad that some of the blacks of the southern part of St. Domingo were engaged in negotiations with certain malcontents of Jamaica, with a design to disturb the tranquillity of that island. When this came to the ears of Christophe he professed a burning zeal to defeat the meditated movement, and he even arrested some blacks who had been accused as accomplices in the conspiracy. For this praiseworthy promptitude in crushing the germ of a transaction which after all seems to bear a marvellous resemblance to their own Popish plot, the British ministry expressed their high satisfaction, and an Order in Council was issued, conferring important commercial advantages upon the states of Christophe, permitting English vessels to dispose of their cargoes within those ports held by Christophe which were not claimed as belonging to France or Spain, and to return with their homeward cargoes directly to the ports of the United Kingdom, or to sell them in foreign markets.

In September, 1808, Petion commenced another campaign by sending troops to the North to reinforce Gen. Lamarre, who now began again to threaten Port de Paix, and by driving the troops of Christophe from various posts in the plain of the Artibonite. What remained of the prosperity of former times in this district was pillaged and given to the flames, and the republican army continued its destructive progress until it had advanced to Lacroix—a tract of country in the immediate vicinity of Gonaives. Another attempt was now meditated against St. Marks, and Petion recalled his forces to take up a position around that place. The town was invested in form, entrenchments being thrown up on every side of it, and the besieging army was furnished with its supplies by means of a number of small vessels, which likewise served to blockade the town by sea. The efforts of Chris-

tophe to raise the siege or to throw troops into the place were repulsed successfully by the besiegers, who maintained a constant skirmishing with the foraging parties of the enemy, and continued their work of laying waste the plantations in that neighborhood, in order to cut off all supplies, both from the town itself and the army which had come to its relief. In this state of things Christophe began the erection of batteries against the enemy's lines, and one situated upon the plantation Charette rendered him signal service by interrupting the operations of his enemy and cutting off the communication with his supply of water and provisions. A squadron of small vessels had been dispatched from Cape Francois by the orders of Christophe, with supplies for the garrison and the inhabitants of St. Marks; but this was detained by calms, and the beleaguered town seemed on the point of yielding to the fate which threatened it, when the long expected vessels appeared off the coast, and a species of naval battle ensued between them and the bateaux of Petion. This terminated to the disadvantage of the latter, and those of Christophe succeeded in entering the harbor and throwing succors into the town. Elated by this success Christophe renewed his operations with more vigor, and the cannonade became incessant between the two contending armies. Petion, discouraged for the result of his undertaking, and perhaps fearful that he should be driven from his works should he remain much longer in his position, gave orders on the 18th of November to retire from before the town, and his forces retreated once more upon Port au Prince.

The seat of the war was now transferred to the North, where Lamarre had resumed operations against Port de Paix, having thrown up immense fortifications upon the heights around that town to compel its surrender. Christophe found it necessary to put forth all his resources against his formidable opponent, whose vigorous assaults followed each other with a rapidity which left him no leisure. With every new attack the rage and hostile passions of the two belligerents became redoubled, until the annals of warfare furnish few parallels to the maniacal ferocity which goaded on these two black chieftains in their vengeance against each other. Both parties sacri-

faced all their prisoners. The entrenchments of both were in many places carried forward so as to rest against each other, and no one could raise his head without being shot dead upon the instant. No one thought of yielding, as all were occupied with the single idea of destroying their opponents; and for this purpose strange and frightful means were employed, where a hatred that was so deep and bitter ministered to invention and animated to effort. The entrenchments of both parties were undermined, and with the fierceness of demons they buried their enemies in a living grave, or plunged their sabres into each other while grovelling in the bowels of the earth. Mines were dug at a vast expenditure of time and labor, which being exploded at a favorable moment hurled whole ranks of the enemy into the air. The soil was covered with the dead and the dying, or with the scattered members of those who had never known the fate which destroyed them.

In such a contest the party most plentifully stocked with numbers must in the end be triumphant, and Christophe, by pouring in fresh troops to supply the places of those who had perished, at last obliged his opponent to evacuate his position and retire upon Jean Rabel.

Christophe now left his army, to watch the movements of Lamarre, and retired to his capital to indemnify himself for the inconsiderable success he had as yet obtained in his attempts to conquer the republic, by employing measures to extend his territory in another direction. Agents had already been sent by Petion to persuade the blacks of the Spanish part of the island to transfer their allegiance to the republic, and to unite in an alliance against his warlike opponent. But from want of capacity in the persons employed in this measure, though perhaps chiefly from the greater activity of Christophe, whose communications with that territory were more direct, Petion's mission had entirely failed, and his agent had fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of Christophe. Spain having transferred that part of St. Domingo to France by the treaty of Basle, had now for many years ceased to exercise any official control in its government, though the mulattoes and blacks of that part still retained a sympathy and affection for the parent state, such as to cause them to view with discontented feelings the introduction of a

French dynasty within the territory. The distracted condition of Spain at this epoch precluded all hope that the colony would be soon re-conquered by its legitimate owners—and the free blacks of that territory were thus in a condition of suspense and dissatisfaction which made them ripe for the intrigues of Christophe. The latter seized eagerly upon the occasion to spread his insinuations among the population, encouraging them to take the government of the country into their own hands and to ally themselves with their brethren of the plain of Cape Francois. The Spanish blacks lent a favorable ear to these persuasions, and arms and munitions of war were sent by Christophe to one of their chiefs who called himself Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez. This leader was encouraged to undertake operations against the French government of Santo Domingo, and to assist in subduing the French garrison of Samana.

In this stage of the transaction Christophe succeeded in procuring the assistance of an English squadron that touched at Cape Francois in the autumn of 1808, to act with him against the French of Samana. These new allies of the black chief made an attack upon the little settlement, and the French were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war, while the town was delivered up to the Spanish blacks.

The interference of England in the war of the peninsula now contributed an influence upon the condition of Gen. Ferrand at Santo Domingo. An English armament under the command of Gen. Carmichael sailed from Jamaica in July, 1809, to coöperate in the reduction of the latter city, the last possession held by the French in St. Domingo. Gen. Ferrand, desperate for the cause of his country in the island, and foreseeing no hope of deliverance from the difficulties that surrounded him, had destroyed himself with his own hand a few months before this epoch, and the command of the French garrison had fallen upon Gen. Barquier, the second in command. The latter at first declared peremptorily that he would never surrender the place. But discovering that the blacks of the interior were preparing to act against him, and that the English general was about to commence an assault upon the town, which he had not sufficient means left him

to defend, he judged proper to capitulate. The French garrison was permitted to retire with the honors of war; the officers were allowed to return to France upon their parole, and the soldiers remained as prisoners of war. A motley but peaceable population, of all ranks and colors, from Castilians to Africans, was now left in undisturbed possession of the Spanish territory—those of the northern and western part yielding a nominal allegiance to Christophe, while those of Santo Domingo and the rich southern coast shamed their countrymen of the French part, who were tearing each other like ferocious beasts, while the Spaniard and his former slave slept in harmony under the same roof, and were companions to each other in their labors in the field or the chase.

Christophe now resumed his operations to compel the army of Lamarre to evacuate the peninsula of the Mole St. Nicholas. The sympathy for his cause, which he had succeeded in establishing among the functionaries of the English government in the West Indies, had now ripened into an almost avowed alliance with the black chief against his enemy. This friendship of the English was partly founded upon a communion of feeling which existed between them and Christophe in the hatred which both professed against the French emperor, but chiefly upon more sordid considerations of interest, excited in the English by a prospect of rich commercial advantages to be acquired through the favor of the black king. In either case it was unworthy of a nation claiming so much civilization to employ itself in exciting a horde of rebel negroes to harass and devour each other. A few English ships now sailed from Cape Francois to assist in driving Lamarre from his position at Jean Rabel. An assault was made upon his lines, and finding himself unable to withstand an attack directed by English officers, the republican general was obliged to escape from the place—and he retired with his whole force to the Mole St. Nicholas. Christophe, animated by the hope of driving his obstinate adversary from his dominions, pressed forward at the head of his army, and the Mole St. Nicholas was immediately besieged both by land and sea. But Christophe, always triumphant over his enemies in the open field, had never met with corresponding success when at-

tacking them in an entrenched town; and after a few attempts to carry the place by assault the war was changed into a regular siege, strictly maintained both by land and sea. The attempts of Petion to throw succors into the place were unsuccessful, and a considerable engagement took place off a point called the Platform, in consequence of one of Christophe's light vessels falling in with a force of five schooners belonging to the enemy, which were loaded with supplies for the besieged town. The noise of the firing drew the attention of the blockading squadron, and after a rather awkward attack and defence of some minutes, Christophe's armament had the honors of victory, the vessels of Petion making their escape to Port au Prince.

Petion now sought to create a diversion in favor of Lamarre, and to raise the siege of the Mole St. Nicholas, by invading the plain of Cape Francois. A detachment of the republican army received secret orders to proceed by way of Mirebalais and the Spanish territory, and commence operations in the very heart of Christophe's dominions. The armament crossed the sources of the Artibonite, and concealing itself in the savannas of the Spanish part, made an unexpected attack upon the posts held by Christophe at Grande Riviere. The latter, alarmed at this bold movement, which endangered his very capital, suspended his operations at the Mole St. Nicholas, and hastened to the new scene of conflict. A succession of attacks took place with various success, but the vigorous warfare of Christophe succeeded at last, and his enemies were compelled to retreat before him after having lost their commander, who had fallen in a skirmish. The republicans took the route of the Spanish territory, pursued by the forces of Christophe. When arrived at Banica they were overtaken by their pursuers, and while the latter were pressing on their rear, the river Artibonite was in their front, swollen by rains so as not to be fordable. In this critical situation a part of Petion's forces, overwhelmed with panic, attempted to cross the river by swimming, but the fugitives were borne down by the force of the current, and two entire battalions were drowned. The troops of Christophe at this moment commenced a furious onset upon those that remained, great numbers of

whom were cut in pieces, and the remainder sought concealment among the thickets and savannas of the neighborhood.

While the greater part of the army of Christophe was thus employed, Gen. Lamarre seized upon the opportunity to make a sally upon his besiegers at the Mole St. Nicholas. He broke through the lines of the enemy, and for a moment all that Christophe had gained over his opponent seemed upon the point of being lost; but a fresh detachment of troops arriving from another part of the works compelled the republican general to retire back to the town, after having lost his two aids and many of his troops in the *melée*.

The struggle between the two presidents of Hayti had now continued three years, when a new competitor started up, by the arrival of Rigaud from France. He had passed by way of the United States, and arrived at Aux Cayes on the 7th of April, 1810. This was an unexpected event, which awakened deep solicitude in the bosom of Petion, who could not avoid regarding that distinguished mulatto as a more formidable rival than Christophe. He feared his superior talents, and dreaded the ascendancy he held over the mulatto population. Rigaud was welcomed by his old adherents with enthusiastic demonstrations of attachment and respect, and after enjoying for a few days the hospitalities that were so emulously offered to him, he proceeded on his way to Port au Prince. Though Petion could not feel at his ease while such a rival was journeying in a species of triumph through the country, he dared not, at least in his present condition, to make an open manifestation of his displeasure, or employ force against one who had such devoted partisans at his command. He determined therefore to mask his jealous feelings and wear an exterior of complaisance, until he could discover the designs of Rigaud. The latter was received graciously by the president, whose suspicions were all effectually lulled by the harmless deportment of the great mulatto chieftain; and he was even invested by Petion with the government of the South. This was to place an idol in the very temple of its worshippers, for Rigaud returned to Aux Cayes to draw all hearts to himself. No one in that province now cast a thought upon

Petion, and within a short period Rigaud was in full possession of his ancient power. Petion, affrighted at his situation, surrounded as he was by two such rivals as Rigaud and Christophe, began an open rupture with the former before he had fully ascertained whether he could sustain himself against the hostilities of the latter. Some of the mulattoes, who with a spirit of patriotism or clan-ship foresaw the triumphs which would be offered to the blacks by civil dissensions among themselves, proposed a compromise between Rigaud and Petion—but this was rejected by the latter, who began to make preparations to invade Rigaud's province.

These movements in the South had been eagerly watched by Christophe, who hailed this division between the two mulatto chieftains as the harbinger of triumph to his own pretensions. Scarcely had Petion departed from Port au Prince to attempt the reduction of Rigaud, when he was awakened from his dream of madness by the rapid advance of Christophe on his capital. Rigaud with a manly spirit proclaimed the evil policy of a strife between brethren of the same race, which would render them an easy prey to the enemy who was waiting to devour them. The desire of self preservation overruled the suggestions of personal interest, and negotiations were made for an interview between the two mulatto chiefs in order to compromise the offensive pretensions which had sown division between them. A meeting was held at the bridge of Miragoane, and after a few difficulties a treaty was signed by Petion and Rigaud, by the stipulations of which it was agreed that Rigaud should hold possession of the South, while Petion was to retain his power over the West and as much of the North as could be wrested from the dominion of Christophe.

When the latter had been informed of this compact between Petion and Rigaud, he ceased his advance on Port au Prince, and returned into his own territory to wait for some more favorable moment to renew his attempt when a new breach had been made between his mulatto rivals.

He now proceeded in person to superintend the investment of the Mole St. Nicholas, where the forces of the republic still maintained themselves amidst a succession of attacks which kept up an almost perpetual skirmishing



between the two combatants. Great difficulties had heretofore arisen in the way of Christophe's success, in consequence of the imperfect observance of the blockade by sea, the ignorance and heedlessness of his marine force furnishing a thousand occasions to the vessels of the enemy to furnish supplies to the town. Some English or American adventurers were now employed to give greater efficiency to the blockade, and secure a coöperation of the land and sea forces whenever a general assault took place. By this stricter investment the garrison of the besieged town was soon reduced to a condition which admitted no hope, as it was hemmed in by a vastly superior force of the enemy, and destitute of provisions or any means of communication with Port au Prince. Its brave commander, Lamarre, had been slain in a murderous attack, which had terminated to the advantage of the enemy, and it seemed necessary, amidst the exasperation of the time, to secure conditions of safety while they could be obtained. Terms of capitulation were accordingly proposed and granted, and on the 8th of October, 1810, the forces of Petion delivered up the fortress which had been so long besieged, and suffered themselves to be incorporated with the army of Christophe.

Having now driven the forces of Petion out of his territory, the black chief employed himself in perfecting his system of administration. His troops were distributed in garrisons throughout the province, and after their long employment in the field they were now left to a season of repose. Having gained a knowledge of the effectual assistance to be rendered by a naval armament in warlike operations in such a country, by the importance of his vessels in carrying on the siege of the Mole St. Nicholas, he applied himself to create a navy, to be employed on the coasts of his enemy's territory. The plantations in the northern and western parts of the island had now become once more a waste of wilderness, and amidst the constant devastations of war the lands were left uncultivated, while those who should have been employed in laboring upon the soil were engaged in slaughtering each other. The productions of the country had ceased altogether, and while the negroes in their newborn independence were endeavoring to sweep each other from the face

of the earth, famine was about to succeed the sword in completing the annihilation of the race. Christophe, to prevent this occurrence directed his attention to measures for the restoration of agriculture within his territory. The neglected plantations were farmed to the chiefs of his army, and a multitude of laborers who had been taken from the different estates to be placed in the ranks of the army were now restored to their former situation. He next commenced a tour of inspection through the different districts of his government, to confirm the fidelity of his people, and to establish measures for the speedy restoration of the country from its desolation.

Christophe, like Dessalines, had been made a monarch by the constitution which formed a basis to his power, but he had at first only assumed to himself the modest title of President. This moderation in his ambition arose from the desire to supplant Petion in his government and become the supreme head of the whole country without any rival or associate. For this purpose it was necessary to surround his power with republican forms, to make it attractive in the estimation of the better class of blacks and mulattoes, with whom republican notions happened to be in vogue. But the prospect of superseding Petion in his authority had become less clear with every succeeding attempt of Christophe against him, and after years of untiring hostility it was evident that Petion was more firmly enthroned in the hearts of his people than at the commencement of his administration, and that no solid and durable advantages had been gained over him in the field. Christophe was thus led to change his policy, and instead of seeking to assimilate the nature of the two governments, in order to supplant his rival in the affections of his countrymen, he now resolved to make his government the very contrast of the other, and leave it to the people of his country to decide which of the two forms of power was the best adapted to the nature and genius of the population over which they maintained their sway. The one was a republic in direct contact with the people and governed by a plain engineer officer, who, though clothed with the sovereignty of the state, "bore his faculties so meekly" that he mixed freely with his fellow-citizens but as a man in high repute for his intelli-

gence and his virtues. Christophe determined that the other should be a monarchy, surrounded with all the insignia of supreme power, and sustained by a hereditary nobility, who, holding their civil and military privileges from the crown, would be props to the throne, and maintain industry and order among the subjects of the government. The Republic was a government of the mulattoes, and had been placed under the rule of a mulatto president. The monarchy was to be essentially and throughout a dominion of the pure blacks, between whom and the mulattoes it was alleged there was such diversity of interest and personal feeling that no common sympathy could exist between them.

In pursuance of this new policy Christophe's Council of State was convoked, and commenced its labors to modify the constitution of February, 1807, in order to make it conformable to the new ambition of Christophe. With this council there had been associated the principal generals of the army and several private citizens who were sufficiently in the favor of Christophe to be ranked among those willing to do him honor. The labors of this council were brief, and upon the 20th of March, 1811, the session was closed by the adoption of a new frame of government. The imperial constitution of 1805 was modified to form a hereditary monarchy in the North, and to place the crown of Hayti upon Christophe under the title of Henry the First.

In their announcement to the world of this new organization of the government the Council declared, that the constitution which had been framed in the year 1807, imperfect as it was, had been adapted to the circumstances of the country at that epoch, but that the favorable moment had arrived to perfect their work, and establish a permanent form of government, suited to the nature and condition of the people over which it was to bear rule. They added that the majority of the nation felt with them the necessity of establishing a hereditary monarchy in the country, inasmuch as a government administered by a single individual was, less than any other, subject to the chances of revolution, as it possessed within itself a higher power to maintain the laws, to protect the rights of citizens, to preserve internal order and maintain respect

abroad; that the title of governor-general, which had been conferred upon Toussaint Louverture, was insufficient to the dignity of a supreme magistrate; that that of emperor, which had been bestowed upon Dessalines, could not in strictness be conferred but upon the sovereign of several states united under one government, while that of president did not in fact carry with it the idea of sovereign power at all. In consideration of these grave objections to all other terms to designate the supreme head of the state, the council expressed itself driven at last to adopt the title of king. It further declared that the nation ought, from considerations of gratitude alone, to confer this dignity upon the family of that chief who had for so many years governed the country with such glory and wisdom. By another article the council decreed the institution of a hereditary nobility, in the ranks of which were to be placed all persons who had rendered distinguished services to the state in the army, the magistracy, or the sciences. The Council next proceeded by a formal decree to confer the title of King of Hayti upon Henry Christophe and his successors in the male line, and to make such changes and modifications in the constitution of 1807 as were required by the recent alteration in the structure of the government.

Christophe was at Fort Dauphin when the announcement was made of this new dignity about to be conferred upon him as the chief of the new government, and his agents were immediately busy in preparing the population of the neighboring districts to do suitable honor to their king, who was returning to his capital to receive the investiture of the power and dignity which had been decreed to his acceptance. The negroes, rejoiced at an excuse to escape from their labor, and delighted with the new bauble which they thought had been created for their amusement, but which was in the end to prove itself the severest scourge of their race, prostrated themselves before Christophe with the salutations considered due to the royal head of the state. His return to his capital was made in a triumphal manner, and the population of Cape Francois received him with plaudits of joy and gratulation. A court was held that very night, and their majesties of Hayti, clad in the adornments of royalty,

which had already been prepared for the occasion, and surrounded by a numerous cortege of the great officers of the army and the grandees of the kingdom, received the felicitations of their subjects and of the white strangers resident in the capital.

On the 4th of April the Council of State, which, with the additions made to their number from among the chiefs of the army and the leaders among the population, was pompously styled the Council General, in their robes of state and headed by their president proceeded to the palace of Christophe, to announce in formal terms the termination of their labors, which had resulted in the formation of a new constitution, making the crown of Hayti hereditary in the family of the reigning prince. After a speech filled with the very essence of adulation, the president of the Council, Gen. Romaine, exclaimed in the presence of the sovereign, "People of Hayti, regard with pride your present situation. Cherish no longer any fears for the future prosperity of your country, and address your gratitude to heaven, for while there exists a Henry upon the throne a Sully will ever be found to direct the march of your happiness."

On the day following the new constitution was proclaimed by official announcement throughout the kingdom, and Christophe entered upon the exercise of the kingly powers which had been conferred upon him. The first act of his reign was the promulgation of a royal edict, creating a hereditary nobility, as a natural support to his government and an institution to give eclat and permanence to his sovereignty. These dignitaries of the kingdom were taken mostly from among the chiefs of the army, and consisted of two princes, not of the royal blood, of seven dukes, twenty-two counts, thirty-five barons, and fourteen chevaliers. Of priority in rank among the princes of the kingdom, were those of the royal blood, consisting of the two sons of Christophe, the eldest of whom as heir apparent received the title of Prince Royal. The different districts of the province were erected into fiefs of the kingdom, and bestowed in perpetuity upon the new nobility, into principalities for the princes, duchies for the dukes and counties for the counts. These appropriated possessions of the nobles were subjected to a territorial

tax, consisting of one fourth of their annual income, which was to be paid into the royal treasury. They were decreed unalienable, and were to descend in perpetuity to the successors of the original possessors by right of primogeniture, until the house became extinct by the failure of male heirs to inherit the dignity. It was further declared, that there were to be future admissions into the ranks of the nobility of those who should render important services to the state, whether in a military or civil capacity, and that both with the reigning prince and his successors talents and virtue were the only distinctions which would give validity to the claims of those aspiring to be enrolled among the nobles of the state.

Having accomplished this measure, which created a host of fierce barbarian tyrants to rule the emancipated negroes of St. Domingo, Christophe turned his cares to the establishment of the Catholic religion and to a new organization of the clergy within his realms. Cape Francois, re-baptized Cape Henry; was made an archepiscopal see, and bishopricks were established in the three principal towns of the island, namely; at Gonaives, at Port au Prince, and at Aux Cayes. A small number of young blacks had been sent to Rome by Dessalines, to receive consecration and ordination from the Pope, in order to the formation of a native priesthood for the black empire—but through the interference of Napoleon, Pius VI. refused his consent to this measure; and the black aspirants to holy orders were compelled to return as they went. Warned by this uncompliant attitude assumed by the head of the church, Christophe took the matter into his own hands, and availing himself of the presence of a Spanish capuchin, named Brelle, who had formerly anointed Dessalines emperor of Hayti, he placed this friar at the head of his newly organized church as archbishop of Hayti and grand almoner to the king. To this ecclesiastical dignitary there were assigned a house in Cape Henry, denominated the archepiscopal palace, and a yearly support to be derived from the revenues of his see.

To have nothing wanting in the pageantry and ceremonial of majesty, Christophe, on the 20th of April, issued another edict, creating a royal and military order of St. Henry, giving personal nobility to those admitted into its

legion. This was composed of ten grand crosses, twenty-one commanders, and one hundred and sixty-five chevaliers.

Appended to the order for the creation of the new nobility there were minute instructions as to the costume of the black court. The princes and dukes were required to wear a white tunic reaching below the knees, and over this under-garment there was to be thrown a black cloak descending to the calf of the leg, with red facings embroidered with gold, and connected at the neck by a gold button. The legs were to be clothed in white silk hose, and the shoes to be of red morocco, fastened with square gold buckles. A gold hilted sword, and round Spanish hat with red and black plumes, completed this court attire. The counts were habited like the princes and dukes, except that their cloaks were to be blue instead of black, and to be faced with white instead of red, while the barons and chevaliers were dressed in simple coats, which for the latter were blue and for the former red—their hats being decorated with plumes, the colors of which were white and green. The knights of St. Henry bore for a decoration a large gold cross set with brilliants and suspended from the neck by a ribbon. Upon one side of this cross there was engraved the image of Christophe, with the words, “Henry fondateur 1811,” and upon the other a crown of laurel with a star, and the device, “priz de la valeur.”

Having finished these creations of his new monarchy, and received the two royal crowns of Hayti, Christophe appointed the 2d of June, 1811, as the day for his coronation. All the chiefs of the army and other grandees of the realm had orders to repair to the capital, and among them there appeared a deputation from the blacks of the Spanish territory, who had assumed to themselves the pompous appellations of Don Raphael de Villars, chief commandant of Santiago; Don Raimond de Villa, commandant of Vega; Don Vincent de Luna, and Don José Thabanes, who at least represented the Spanish creoles by the grandiloquence of their names. An immense pavilion had been erected upon the Place d'Armes of Cape Henry, furnished with a throne, galleries for the great ladies of the court, chapels, oratories, an orchestra,

and all the arrangements necessary for the august ceremony. This was performed in due stateliness by the new archbishop of Hayti, the capuchin Brelle, who consecrated Christophe king of Hayti under the title of Henry the First. An immense entertainment had been provided by the new monarch to conclude the transactions of the day, and the friendship and alliance of Christophe with the English nation was commemorated by a proposal of the health of the black king by Capt. Douglas of the frigate Reindeer, to which his majesty of Hayti replied by toasting "his dear brother George Third, whose life he hoped the Sovereign Arbiter of the universe might preserve to oppose an invincible obstacle to the ambition of Napoleon, and be always the constant friend of Hayti."\*

After the festivities of the coronation were over, Christophe proceeded to form an administration. The Prince of Gonaives was made minister of finances and of the interior; the Prince of Limbé minister of war and marine; the Duc de Morin minister of state and of foreign affairs; the Count de Terre Nueve minister of justice; the Count de Limonade secretary of the king, and the chevalier Dupuy interpreter.

By the conquest of the peninsula of the Mole St. Nicholas, Christophe had made the territory of his government nearly equal to that of the republic. His kingdom now included all the ancient French province of the North, and a considerable portion of that of the West. He now divided it into three divisions, which were denominated those of Sans Souci, or the capital—Plaisance in the West—and St. Marks in the South.

To furnish himself with all the appointments correspondent to his royal dignity, he now began the erection of a palace, situated at the distance of a few leagues from Cape Henry, upon which he had bestowed the historical name of Sans Souci. This palace has the reputation of having been one of the most magnificent edifices in the West Indies. With the despotic power and a portion of the prospective ambition of the ancient Egyptian kings, Christophe employed vast multitudes of his subjects, gathered from every district of his kingdom, to accomplish

\* Almanach d'Hayti.



the stupendous undertaking which he had planned. The rugged mountainous region in the vicinity of his intended residence was changed from its original condition to form the gardens of the palace. Hills were levelled with the plain, deep ravines were filled up, and roads and passages were opened, leading in all directions from the royal dwelling. Upon the foundations which he had thus prepared, Christophe began the erection of an edifice which was intended to be a sort of Louvre. The halls and saloons were wrought with mahogany, the floors were laid with rich marble, and numerous jets d'eau furnished coolness and a supply of pure water to the different apartments.

Meantime, to continue the policy of Dessalines designed to secure the country against any future designs of the French, whose claims to the island which had been wrested from them were still a constant source of solicitude to the two chiefs of Hayti, Christophe began the erection of immense fortifications upon the mountains of Grande Riviere, which overhung his new palace. Here he determined to build an impregnable fortress, which, like the formidable works of Dessalines at Marchand, would protect the royal residence, and furnish a place of retreat in the hour of danger. This stupendous structure was mounted with three or four hundred cannon, and built under the direction and superintendence of European engineers, who were repaid for the captivity which confined them as fixtures in the place, by the honors and emoluments which were heaped upon them by the black king. It was situated upon the precipitous summit of one of the highest mountains in the island, from which the warder, perched as he was in the clouds, could see in the horizon one hundred miles of sea-coast. In front were the heights and the town of Cape Henry, the royal capital, with its spacious harbor and the distant sea; to the westward could be seen the island of Tortugas and the shores of Port de Paix, and eastward were the steep high bluff of Lagrange, Fort Royal, Monte Christe, and Mansanilla Bay. Within the interior of this gloomy fortress were the dungeons prepared by the cautious foresight of Christophe, to be the prison, and perhaps tomb, of those who had fallen under his suspicious by making

themselves dangerous to his power, and within a few years from this epoch they were habitually tenanted by more than six thousand persons who had become the victims of Christophe's jealousy. This formidable castle had been named the Citadel Henry, and was an intimate appendage to the palace of Sans Souci; and though no "bridge of sighs" connected them, the passage was easy and often speedy from the palace of the black king to the subterranean dungeons destined for his victims.

When Petion had been left at peace by the temporary retirement of Christophe from the war against him, all his former jealousy was awakened within him against Rigaud. The treaty of Miragoane had been wrung from him by the hard necessities of his situation, which was such as to force him to choose between yielding himself a prey to the warlike ambition of Christophe, or complying with the urgent demands pressed upon him by the political importance of Rigaud. A compact thus brought about by the stern compulsion of an impending danger, and not yielded as a voluntary sacrifice for the preservation of peace, was not likely to remain unviolated when the necessity of the moment had passed away and was forgotten. Thus, as has been observed, when Christophe, engaged as he was in renovating the structure of his government, had ceased from his hostilities against Petion, the latter became immediately infested with all his former dislike of Rigaud. Intrigues were commenced against him, to shake the fidelity of his followers, and to turn the hearts of the southern blacks against the mulatto who had been placed over them as their chief. Emissaries were employed in all parts of that province, reminding the people of the obligations which they owed to the constituted authorities of the republic at Port au Prince, and conjuring them to remember that the preservation of the country against the designs of France could only be assured by the unanimous support given to the chief of the republic, who alone could perpetuate the institutions of the country, and maintain its independence against its foreign enemies.

An armistice concluded between Petion and the maroon chief, Gomar, furnished an opportunity to the former to arm this formidable brigand against the govern-

ment of the South. Gomar's followers, eager for new scenes of plunder, commenced their depredations in the plain of Aux Cayes, and the plantations in that quarter were soon subjected to the same ravages as had fallen to the lot of those of Grande Anse. While Rigaud was involved in a perplexing war with these banditti, and had already discovered that the allegiance of his own followers at Aux Cayes was wavering and insecure, he was dismayed at the intelligence that Petion had already invaded his territory at the head of an army. Thus were the mulattoes committing suicide upon their political hopes, if not upon their very existence, by a mad strife in the cause of their respective chiefs, when their formidable enemy in the North was concentrating his power, and watching a favorable moment to pour destruction upon both.

Rigaud hastened to gather together his forces, in order to defend his territory against this invasion of Petion, and the latter, having already passed the mountains of La Hotte, was met by his antagonist in the plain of Aux Cayes. A furious battle immediately took place, and after a gallant resistance Rigaud's troops had already begun to give ground before the overpowering numbers and successive charges of the enemy, when a strong reinforcement of troops under the command of Gen. Borgella coming in from Aquin, turned the tide of battle in favor of Rigaud, and Petion was defeated in his turn, and his army almost annihilated in the rout which followed.\*

The joy of this signal victory over his opponent, which had driven him from the southern territory, did not efface the bitter recollections which had fastened themselves upon the sensitive mind of Rigaud. In that province, where he had once been all powerful, and Petion a subservient instrument of his will, he saw that his former glory had so far departed that he could not trust the fidelity of his own personal attendants, while his former lieutenant was now his triumphant rival. The applauses and sworn devotedness with which the multitude had once followed in the march of his power had now with proverbial fickleness been exchanged for the coldness of indifference, or an open alliance with his foes. In this desolate state

\* Lacroix.

of his fortunes Rigaud had lost his wonted energies, and instead of following up his late success, and arming himself for one last desperate effort to crush his insinuating but unwarlike opponent, he returned to Aux Cayes to new solitudes and new experience of the faithlessness of that mob whose whirlwind march he had once guided in its track of desolation by a single word.

Petion's partisans had now gained over to their opinions a formidable proportion of the people of Aux Cayes, and Rigaud had scarcely entered his capital when a multitude of blacks and mulattoes was gathered in the street opposite the government house. Their cries of vengeance upon Rigaud, and their menacing preparations, struck a panic into the little body of followers who faithful among the faithless still adhered with unshaken constancy to the declining fortunes of their once glorious chief. These besought Rigaud not to attempt the hazardous experiment of showing himself in the gallery to persuade the mob to disperse. But not suspecting that the last remnant of his once mighty influence had departed from him, Rigaud persevered in his design, and advancing to the gallery of the house he demanded in a mild voice of the leaders of the multitude what they intended by a movement so threatening, when he received in answer a volley of musketry aimed at his life. But he remained unharmed, though he returned into the house heart-struck and desperate. A furious onset was immediately commenced from without, and this was answered by a vigilant and deadly defence from Rigaud's followers within. - The contest continued through the night, but the mob were defeated in every attempt which they made to obtain a lodgment within the walls of the edifice, and no decisive success could be attained to disperse them. Rigaud, now convinced that the witchery of his power existed no longer, made a formal abdication of his authority, and nominated Gen. Borgella as his successor in the command of the South. Rigaud, worn with chagrin and humiliation, retired to his plantation Laborde, where he died within a few days after, a victim to the faithlessness of the multitude, and a warning to succeeding demagogues whose power is sustained by catering to the perverse appetites of the rabble.

## CHAPTER VI.

Endeavors of Christophe for a peaceable union of the whole island under his sway—Siege of Port au Prince—Conspiracy against Christophe—His cruelty and the desertions from his army—The siege is raised—Persecution of the Mulattoes—Cessation of hostilities between Christophe and Petion—Account of Petion's administration—Internal policy of Christophe—His despotism—Court and Public Audiences.

CHRISTOPHE, now enthroned as the sovereign of the North, seized upon the leisure which was afforded him after perfecting the internal details of his new government, to attempt a peaceable union of the blacks of the South with those who were already the loyal subjects of what he considered the legitimate authority of the island. For this purpose a large deputation was dispatched from his capital, to proceed into the territory of the republic as the envoys of the black king, who proposed the union of the whole population in one undivided government, secured under the form of an hereditary monarchy both from the revolutions and weakness of one the structure of which was more popular. These emissaries, sent to declare the clemency and peaceful intentions of the monarch of the North, were taken from among the prisoners who had fallen into the power of Christophe by the capitulation of the Mole St. Nicholas, and who had been adopted into the royal army and made the sharers of the royal bounty of the black king. To assist in this new measure a proclamation was issued from the palace at Cape Henry on the 4th of September, 1811, addressed to the inhabitants of the South, who were no longer called the enemies of the royal government, but erring children, misled by the designing; and they were implored to return to their allegiance to the paternal government of that chief who had just been constituted the hereditary prince of the blacks. "A new era," said this royal document, "has now dawned upon the destinies of Hayti. New grades, new employments, new dignities, in fine, an order of hereditary nobility, are hereafter to be the rewards of those who devote themselves to the state. You can participate in all these advantages. Come then to

join the ranks of those who have placed themselves under the banners of the royal authority, which has no other design than the happiness and glory of the country."

This policy of Christophe was to employ the weapons of Petion against himself. But the republican chieftain was in better play with the foils than his more unsophisticated rival of the monarchy, and Christophe soon discovered that while he was attacking the government of Petion by appeals to the blacks, who were to be dazzled with his royal goodness, the arts of his rival were employed in the very heart of his dominions, and had already insinuated the poison of rebellion among his most trusted subjects. His infant navy had hardly been launched and manned with the objects of his clemency and royal favor, when a detachment of the squadron, consisting of the Princess Royal and several brigs of war, abjured his authority, and raised the standard of the republic. This defection was punished by an English frigate under Sir James Lucas Yeo,\* who captured the rebellious squadron and restored the agents to Christophe's vengeance. Indignant at these attempts of the mulatto government to divert the affections of his subjects from their sworn allegiance to his throne, Christophe resolved on immediate war and the employment of the sword against that race whose pride and Machiavelism of character constituted them the natural and implacable enemies of the pure blacks. Conscious of his military superiority, he resolved to make his preparations for the intended enterprise such as to ensure success over his opponent; and all the disposable forces of his army were gathered together for an invasion of the territories of the republic.

The Artibonite was soon crossed, and Petion's forces, under the command of Gen. Boyer, were met and defeated in the gorges of the mountains of St. Marks,—and the way was thus laid open for an immediate advance upon Port au Prince. The siege of this place was the object of the expedition, and Christophe pressed forward once more to try the fortune of war against his hated enemy. So sudden had been the invasion that Petion was taken totally unprepared—a considerable portion of his army being absent from the capital, employed in watch-

\* Lacerdix.

ing the movements of Gen. Borgella in the South. In this state of weakness the town might have been surprised and fallen an easy prey to the invading army, but Christophe had not calculated upon such a speedy result and though his vanguard had seized upon a post a little to the north of the town, while the inhabitants in their exposed condition were panic struck at the certain prospect of being captured immediately, the arrival of the main body of Christophe's army being delayed twenty-four hours, time was thus afforded to Petion to rally and concentrate his means of defence, so as to be prepared for an effectual resistance. Christophe's whole force came up the next day, and Petion's capital was nearly surrounded by a formidable train of artillery, and an army of twenty thousand men.

In this gigantic attempt of their old adversary, the mulattoes felt with terror that defeat and conquest would not be to them a simple change of government, but would involve in its tremendous consequences the total extermination of their race. In so hazardous a situation they were taught to reflect upon the madness of their ambition, which by sowing dissensions among themselves had exposed them weak and unarmed to the whole power of their natural enemy. In so fearful a crisis the resolution was at last taken to repair their former error, and thus avert the disasters which now overhung them by an attenuated thread. Negotiations were hastily commenced with Gen. Borgella, who, sympathizing with his brethren of Port au Prince in their perilous situation, consented to conditions of peace, and even yielded himself to the orders of Petion. The assistance of the army of the South was thus secured, and Gen. Borgella at the head of his forces marched to the assistance of Petion, and succeeded, in spite of the efforts of Christophe, in gaining an entrance into the town.

The operations of the siege had already commenced, but the mulattoes now united were enabled to make a vigorous defence. Christophe's formidable train of artillery had been mounted in batteries upon the heights above the town, and kept up a slow but ceaseless fire upon the works of the garrison within. The science of gunnery has ever been beyond the attainment of the blacks; and

though the besieging army wielded a battering train sufficient, in the hands of expert artillerists, to have reduced an unfortified town to a mass of ruins, but little impression was made by it upon the place against which it was levelled. A little corps of artillerists were all that the royal army afforded of such as were capable of rendering any effectual service in working the guns, and these were required to hurry from one redoubt to another, to correspond with the various movements and operations of the besieged. In consequence of this awkwardness and ignorance in conducting the usual military operations of a siege, the only effectual attempts of the royal army consisted in simultaneous assaults made by the whole line, and in mining against the works of defence undertaken by the garrison of the besieged town. Petion conducted the defence with considerable ability, and a succession of vigorous sallies made upon the lines of the besieging army without the town taught the latter that they had a formidable adversary to overcome before the town would yield itself to their mercy. Amidst these continual struggles, which gave daily employment to the two forces and had already begun to inflame Christophe with the rage of vexation that his anticipated success was so likely to be exchanged for defeat, Petion had one day at the head of a reconnoitering party advanced too far beyond his lines, when he was pursued by a squadron of the enemy's cavalry. The president of the republic had been discovered by the decorations upon his hat, and the enemy kept up a hot pursuit which hung upon the very footsteps of the mulatto commander-in-chief, whose escape in such circumstances seemed impossible, when one of his officers devoted himself to death to save the life of his chief. Exchanging hats with the president he rode swiftly in another direction. The whole party of the enemy was thus drawn after him, and he was soon overtaken and cut down, while Petion was left at liberty to make his escape into the town.

One of the principal forts of the town, called Fort Republican, had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, who in their operations against the other works of the garrison had in several cases pushed their trenches to the very glacis of the enemy's redoubt, and fought hand to hand with the rage of ferocious beasts. An attempt was now made



to dig a mine from the captured fortress, to open a communication with another of Petion's redoubts; and the garrison of the latter, ignorant of this design of the besiegers, commenced a mine for the same purpose, in order to regain possession of the fort which had fallen into the hands of their enemy. By a singular uniformity in the direction of the respective works, the two chambers were opened into each other, and a fierce subterranean conflict took place—the two parties exasperated to the uttermost against each other, grappling together and fighting with the fixed resolution to subdue their opponents or perish. Petion's party was at last triumphant, and the survivors in the contest were all made prisoners.

Upon the night after this occurrence, an assault was ordered by Christophe to be made by the whole of his line; and though this attack had been twice repulsed by the besieged garrison, it was renewed again in the morning. The inhabitants of the town began to tremble for the success of their brave defenders against an enemy so reckless of his strength: but a skillful movement was now ordered by Petion, to create a diversion in favor of his exhausted garrison. A sally was made at daybreak from the south gate of the town, when the attack made by Christophe's forces was at its height. This manœuvre was eminently successful: for by it the extreme left of Christophe's position was turned by the victorious assailants, who poured themselves into the trenches, stormed the batteries, and spiked the guns. This movement upon his flank obliged Christophe to recall those troops employed in the assault upon the town, in order to the defence of his own lines, and thus the town was saved from the dangers which were threatening it with immediate destruction.

Christophe was maddened with rage at the successful resistance made to his exertions against the besieged town, and he looked upon the triumphs of his enemy with the feelings of a malignant demon. A body of three hundred prisoners, who had fallen into his hands, were put to death with the most horrible tortures; and in the exasperation of his temper, his own soldiers were scarcely treated with more lenity. His bravest officers were abused or insulted, and the soldiers tortured upon grounds of

the least suspicion, or put to death without mercy. Some of the wretched victims of his ferocity were burnt to death. Amidst the hatred and fear inspired by this cruelty, the besieging army became daily thinned by desertions to the enemy; and while this only served to augment the atrocities of Christophe, the defection of his troops increased, until whole platoons threw off their allegiance to their king and commander-in-chief, and went over to swell the forces of the republic.

The siege of Port au Prince had now continued two months, and the obstinacy of its defence had already begun to make Christophe despair of final success, when an occurrence took place which determined him to raise it immediately. Indignant at the tyranny of the black king, several chiefs of his army had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him during his attendance at church. Christophe was always punctual at mass, and upon these occasions the church was filled with officers in waiting, and surrounded with soldiers. It had been arranged to stab him while he was kneeling at the altar, and then to proclaim the death of the tyrant to the soldiery, whose attachment to their monarch, it was thought, was not so warm as to render such an enterprise hazardous. This dangerous undertaking had been prepared in such secrecy, that a great number of the officers and many soldiers of the army had been drawn into the ranks of the conspirators, and all things were now in readiness for the final blow. In this stage of the transaction a mulatto proved faithless to his associates, and informed Christophe minutely of all the plans of the conspiracy, and of all the agents who had devoted themselves to his destruction. The monarch, thus possessed of a full knowledge of all that had been prepared against him, concealed the vengeful feelings that burned within him under an appearance of the utmost composure. He feared lest a whisper intimating that he had been informed of the intentions of the conspirators might snatch them from his vengeance by urging them to desert to the enemy. At the usual hour the troops paraded at the church, and Christophe, instead of entering to assist at the mass, placed himself at the head of his army, and designated by their names the leaders of the conspiracy, who were ordered to march

to the centre. An order was then given to the troops to fire, and the execution was complete.

A black, named Etienne Magny, was one of the ablest of Christophe's generals; and though he had been secretary to the council of state that had raised the latter to the throne of Hayti, he had now become so dissatisfied with his work that nothing retained him to the standard of his king but the reflection that his family, whom he had left at Cape Henry, would be required to pay the forfeit of his defection with their heads. A body of black soldiers, who were upon the point of deserting to the army of Petion, willing to give eclat to their defection, by taking their commander with them, surrounded the tent of Magny by night, and communicated to him their intention. The black general hesitated not to express his willingness to accompany them; but he urged that tenderness for his family forbade an attempt which would doom them all to certain destruction. The black soldiers refused to yield to these considerations, and seizing upon Magny they bore him off undressed and without his arms into the town. To preserve the lives of Magny's family, Petion treated him as a prisoner of war; and he remained at Port au Prince until the death of Christophe, when he was made the commander of the North under Boyer.

Christophe, discouraged at his defeats, and enraged at the sweeping defections which were every day diminishing the numbers of his army and strengthening the resources of his rival, now commenced his retreat towards the North, whence intelligence had lately reached him of designs in preparation against him among his own subjects. The army of the republic under general Boyer commenced a pursuit. The cause of Petion seemed triumphant. Boyer pressed closely upon the rear of the royal army, and Christophe seemed on the point of losing all, when the cautious policy of Petion restrained Boyer's activity, and the republicans turned back from the pursuit. Christophe had been foiled in his great effort by Petion and Borgella, and he now regarded the mulattoes with a hatred so deep and fiendlike, that nothing would satisfy the direness of his vengeance but the utter extermination of that race. A body of mulatto women of the town of Gonaives, who had sympathised with their brethren of

Port au Prince in the struggle which the latter were maintaining against the power of Christophe, and with this communion of feeling had made prayers to the virgin against the success of their king, became the first victims to the rage of Christophe against their race. They were marched out of the town, and all subjected to military execution, without a distinction in their punishment or considerations of mercy for their sex. The condition of the mulattoes within the dominions of Christophe now became one of unmitigated wretchedness. A cordon of posts, preserving an intimate communication with each other along the whole southern boundary of the kingdom, completely shut up all the approaches to the territories of the republic, and a squadron of small vessels stationed along the coasts forbade all attempts to escape by sea. Christophe had been driven to these precautionary measures by other considerations than those of vengeance; for the severe toil to which the blacks were confined upon the plantations of the kingdom, and the knowledge that had been spread abroad of the idleness enjoyed in the republic, had caused a continual drain of the population of the North to enjoy the negro's paradise,—ease and poverty in the province of the South. Christophe had long ago resolved to rest the foundation of his power upon the support of the pure blacks, and he now determined to make his administration one of ceaseless hatred and persecution of the mulattoes. Through the influence of this policy, he hoped to make the numbers of the blacks prevail over the superior intelligence and bravery of the mulattoes. Inflammatory pamphlets were now printed by his order, and distributed among the population of the republic, with the design to arouse the jealousies of the negroes of that government against the mulattoes, and to alarm their fears of becoming slaves to that aspiring and haughty race.

Meantime the mulattoes in the North, persecuted on every side, and given over to massacre and death, were like sheep pursued by ravenous wolves. No hiding-place could afford them a secure shelter from their enemies, no protector could assure them an asylum. They fled from the towns where their friends and associates were delivered over to daily butcheries, and scattered themselves

over the country to find out some friendly retreat from the fiends that were pursuing them. They concealed themselves in the woods, and lived in the solitudes of the mountains, watching for a favorable opportunity to pass the cordon of black troops posted upon the frontiers of the republic. But when no blood thirsty partisans of Christophe were immediately upon their track, patrols and videttes were ever on the lookout, and a smoke seen arising among the trees was an unfailing signal to guide them to the haunts of their victims. Warned by these dangerous consequences, so sure to follow the employment of fire in dressing their meals, the mulatto fugitives were driven at last to subsist on roots, or to prepare their food by a smothered fire kindled in a hole dug in the earth.

Christophe had now discovered the too palpable truth, that so far from his possessing the means to drive his rival from the government of the South, all his cares and precautions were requisite to maintain the sovereignty over his own subjects of the North. A train of perpetual suspicions kept his jealousy ever alive, and vexed by the tortures of eternal solicitude his despotic temper grew by the cruelty which had become its aliment. Together with this perpetual inquietude for the safety of his power, which made the new throne of Hayti a pillow of thorns and torture, other considerations had their influence to arrest the hostilities between the two chiefs of the country. The giant power of Napoleon had now extended itself over almost all the thrones of Europe, and with such an infinity of means at his disposal, it was yearly expected that another armament, proportioned to the overgrown power of the French emperor, would be sent to crush the insurgents of St. Domingo, and restore that island once more to the possession of its ancient colonists. Influenced by the fears inspired by these forebodings, the two governments of Hayti were actuated by a common instinct of self preservation to cease from their warfare, and instead of spending their resources in a civil strife which threatened to become interminable, to employ themselves in giving permanence to their existing condition, and prosperity to the country under their control. The population which had been employed in the armies of the two powers had been

taken from his labors upon the soil, and the ravages of war had consumed and destroyed the scanty growth of the plantations. Amidst this unproductiveness of agriculture, which spread the miseries of want and destitution among the inhabitants of both governments, the occurrence of a maritime war between the United States and England entirely cut off the supplies which had been drawn from those two countries, and the evil condition of the island was complete. In this sad state of their affairs both Christophe and Petion ceased from all military operations against each other, without previous arrangement or military truce; and they directed all their efforts to heal the wounds which had been inflicted by hostile depredation or the neglect of peaceful employments within their respective territories. They even agreed, though without any written treaty, to unite themselves in mutual defence in case of threatening invasion from abroad. In the same manner it was tacitly stipulated, that a neutral territory should exist on the boundaries of the two governments, extending for ten leagues between the frontiers of the two states. It was expected that the armies of neither power would enter this territory, which was to be regarded as a sacred partition between two hostile parties, who would never be reconciled to a more perfect peace. This neutral territory comprised the rich plain of Boucassin, once the garden of the island, but now overgrown with thick forests, and completely restored to the wildness of its condition under the Indian caciques.

Though this armistice with his formidable competitor in the North, and the death of Rigaud in the South, had left Petion at leisure to confirm and strengthen his power, he found a thousand difficulties in his situation, to disturb his quiet, and make his administration a ceaseless succession of cares and thick-coming perplexities. Petion was superior to Christophe in education and in the refinement given him by a cultivated understanding, and an extensive intercourse with European society; but he was greatly inferior to the black monarch in boldness and decision of character. Petion was subtle, cautious and despondent. He aspired to be the Washington, as Christophe was deemed the Bonaparte, of Hayti. By insinuating the doctrines of equality and republicanism, Petion succeeded in

in governing with but ten thousand mulattoes a population of more than two hundred thousand blacks. The latter, though ever jealous and mistrustful of their haughty and ambitious compatriots, the mulattoes, were yet taught by the tyranny of Christophe and the mildness of Petion, the unpalatable but evident truth, that their happiness was unsafe in the hands of one of their own race; and to save themselves from the worst of bondage, it was necessary to preserve the authority of the country in the possession of a mulatto ruler. While Christophe was wielding an iron despotism which pressed his subjects to the earth, it was the policy of Petion to hold the reins of government lightly, and to give the negroes under his rule their hearts' content of indolence, raggedness and disorder. A cautious, wily system of promotions and appointments among the military and civil authorities, filled the ranks of power with mulattoes, and prepared the political system of the republic for a mulatto dynasty to continue in perpetuity.

The republic preserved the system of administration of the French revolution by arrondissements commanded by general officers, each of which was furnished with an administrator, treasurer, director of the customs and judiciary establishment. The citizens were equal, and property was equally devisible among all. Marriage, instead of being a mere civil connection as in France, was nearly abolished altogether, and universal and promiscuous licence introduced in its stead.

As might be expected, so much liberty among such a population soon produced results such as to make Petion suspect the wisdom of his own policy. The black republicans became a horde of barbarians, worse than their brethren of Dahomey, with all the vices of civilized man, but without the intelligence or character of the latter to control them: one part of the population preyed upon the other, and all spent their lives in idleness, disorder and petty crime. The republic, as well as the monarchy, was essentially military in its structure; but the army of Petion was but an armed rabble, undisciplined, unclothed, unfed, unpaid. The rich plain of Cul de Sac, and the lands of the South, had long before this epoch become an uncultivated wilderness; and the productions of the coun-

try were confined to the coffee of the mountain districts, which, growing almost without labor, constituted a manna of the wilderness to supply the present wants of the population.

The revenues of the government fell far short of the necessary expenditures of the administration, even when the most exorbitant imposts and duties were imposed upon the productions of the country, as well as upon the importations from abroad. In this state of things the perplexities of Petion were augmented with each returning year; but having once adopted a system of policy so fertile in evil, no way was left him to retrace his steps, and he perhaps foresaw that by such a course alone permanence could be secured to the institutions of the republic.

Assuming no pretensions to personal or official dignity, and totally rejecting all the ceremonial of a court, it was Petion's ambition to maintain the exterior of a plain republican magistrate. Clad in the white linen undress of the country, and with a Madras handkerchief tied about his head, he mixed freely and promiscuously with his fellow citizens, or seated himself in the piazza of the government house, accessible to all. He professed to hold himself at the disposal of the people, and to be ready at any moment to submit to their will, whether it was to guide the power of the state, or yield his head to the executioner. The enemies of his government when they became formidable were disposed of by noiseless methods, which gave no eclat to the affair, and left the friends of the victim to wonder at his sudden disappearance. A colonel in the republican army had one day visited the president, and while Petion and his visitor were traversing the hall of the government house, the black officer, without previous threat or giving cause for suspicion, drew a pistol from his pocket and fired it at the president. Petion was, however, unharmed, and falling immediately upon the assassin he disarmed him without inflicting upon him any injury. The guard, who had heard the report of the pistol and the noise of the struggle which ensued, rushed into the house to ascertain the cause. Petion and his late antagonist were found pacing the apartment together, and while the president refused to acknowledge that any thing extraordinary had occurred, he mildly signified that the officer



should be taken into custody. The latter was conveyed to prison where, he was found dead on the following morning.

Christophe followed the system of administration which had been established by Toussaint, and the population of his territory was divided into the classes of the great lords, and their vassals, the laborers upon the soil,—among whom the kingly power of the monarch towered above all. The nobles of the kingdom were a species of absolute pachas within the districts granted to their jurisdiction; and while they paid a territorial impost to the king, of whom they farmed their estates, the negroes who labored upon the soil were merely supplied with the means of subsistence—the chief products of their labor passing into the hands of their titular lord. This system, which owes its origin to Toussaint, was founded upon a deep knowledge of the African character. The only means to govern the negro, and provide for the welfare of his social being, is the monarchical rule which exists upon a plantation. It is in vain to attempt to control a race that lives without reflection, and obeys the dictates of sensation and instinct alone, by appeals made to the obligations of human conduct, and to a moral faculty, the suggestions of which are dependent upon the feeblest operations of reason.

The internal police within the states of the monarchy was modelled after that which existed in France before the revolution. Jurisdiction was held by courts of *seneschaussée*, which were established in every district, and composed of a *seneschal* and his lieutenant, a king's procurer and a clerk.

Christophe had been early taught that the preservation of his power should not be entrusted to the fickleness of an army which had witnessed the growth of his fortunes, and had once seen him weak as another man. He justly considered that without some counterpoising force to restrain their waywardness his former comrades might rebel against his authority and refuse to be made passively subject to his arbitrary will. The desertions from his ranks before Port au Prince, and the drain of population from his kingdom, had instructed him that the license allowed in the republic had charms to intoxicate the minds of his

subjects beyond the obligations to industry and the vigorous prosperity which prevailed in his own states. They also taught him that if treason and undutifulness had grown thus bold in his very presence the person of the monarch was no longer to be safely entrusted to his own guards. Influenced by these considerations, Christophe entered into a contract with a company of foreign merchants for the transportation of twenty thousand blacks from Africa, who were to constitute a military force independent of his people ; and being the personal property of the monarch, and the peculiar recipients of the royal favor, were to be the habitual support and perpetual guardians of his throne. Four thousand of these emigrants by compulsion had already arrived at Cape Henry ; and being formed into companies of police, they were named the Royal Dahomets, from the country from which they had been transported. They were placed under the command of officers who could not prove faithless, and they performed the duties of a gendarmie in all the districts, driving the negroes to their labors, watching over the property and security of the proprietors, and maintaining industry and strict subordination among all ranks.

Regulations of extraordinary severity were made for the prosperity of agriculture and for the prevention of crimes. None of the blacks attached to the plantations were allowed to be absent from their labors without a permission granted them by the officer of Dahomets ; and it was required of the whole population that they should be decently clad, particularly when they visited the capital or went to the market towns on business. For the prevention of petty thefts, the inherent vice of negroes, curious expedients were employed. Watches, jewelry, and purses filled with doubloons, were thrown designedly in the way of the blacks, and the luckless finder who appropriated them as his own, or did not hasten to deliver them up at the nearest guard house, was seized by the Dahomet officer, who had remained in concealment near the spot, and delivered over to be executed by martial law. This unmerciful severity made honesty contagious, for it was well known that the eye of the Dahomet gendarmie was every where, and the negroes, taught by the fate of their companions who had fallen victims to

their tenacity, were soon trained to hasten with their utmost speed to deliver up the glittering but treacherous bauble which had been employed to decoy them. Theft and depredation soon became unknown, and the most tempting stores of wealth could be trusted in safety without locks or even a shelter from the open air. The negroes were treated by their monarch as serfs of the soil; every one being required to yield a servile obedience to whatever was the will of the sovereign; and nothing was permitted to interfere with the uniform and systematic march of his government. The cultivation of the soil was performed by those who could not cease from their employment for a single day, and the productions of the plantations were delivered for exportation by those who could not, without endangering their lives, embezzle a single penny of the returns. The machinery of government was adjusted in nice proportions, and the obscurest transactions of the population were performed under the vigilant eye of authority.

When measures of public necessity or public embellishment required it, the whole laboring population of a district was called out en masse, and made to continue their toil until the work was finished. The females were required to carry the materials, while the men were employed in the construction of the work: and the sword and the lash of the military gave diligence and obedience to the laborers, as well as gathered in all who attempted to desert from the ranks. In this manner were raised the immense structures of the Citadel Henry and the palace of Sans Souci; and this forced conscription being practised in all the towns of the kingdom contributed to furnish the territories of Christophe with a multitude of public works of utility or royal luxury.

Amidst the exactions of a despotism so rigorous and extended, it may well be conceived that the black might sigh for the lighter yoke of his ancient master, and that the fertile lands of the North would furnish an immensity of resources to the royal government. The prosperity of the country rivalled that of the best days of Toussaint; and the industry and good habits of the population, the absence of crime, and the obedient deportment of the negroes, were such as to sustain a favorable comparison

with the times of the French colonial regime. Much good as well as much evil was produced by the attempt to compel every thing to the regularity of a system.

It was required of all the laboring population that none should neglect to cultivate for his support a garden of bananas and breadfruit; and by this salutary provision a sufficiency of sustenance was always in readiness for the wants of the inhabitants in any emergency of the time or the seasons. Every district was compelled to contribute its productions to furnish the royal table, and carriers were constantly traversing the country from all directions, bearing upon their heads vegetables from every garden, to minister to the luxuries of Sans Souci.

Petion dared not to tax his subjects to supply the wants of his administration; and for this purpose he was driven to embarrass commerce by the imposition of enormous duties upon the trade carried on in his ports. But Christophe had assumed a station which forbade him to fear his subjects, and he furnished yearly millions to his treasury by a territorial tax, which poured one fourth of all the productions of the kingdom into the royal coffers. Possessed of this revenue, which placed his finances beyond the contingencies of chance, the commercial regulations of Christophe were the very opposites of those enforced within the republic; and the traffic in the ports of the kingdom was annually augmented by a competition sustained at advantages so immense.

Christophe sought to give firmness to the social condition of his subjects by regulations to encourage the practice of marriage among them. The African has little fondness for the ties of wedlock when they impose upon him obligations which are expected to continue through life; and as he is endowed with little natural affection the parental relation operates with feeble strength to continue the permanence of his early attachments. Aware of this peculiarity in the characters of his race, the black monarch sought to obtain obedience to his desires by compulsion, and a multitude of Sabine weddings took place in different parts of his kingdom. The parties were selected by lot, and made to harmonize together through terror of their king's authority. On one occasion he ordered all the females of one of his towns to

assemble upon the public square, when the married portion received orders to separate themselves from those who still pined in single blessedness. The royal guards were then commanded to advance, and take each of them a wife from the bevy of virgins who had so unceremoniously been provided with husbands.

The growing permanence of the monarchy brought with it no relaxation in the persecution of the mulattoes, who could preserve themselves from imprisonment and death but by allying themselves in marriage to a black, or by putting themselves under the protection of a white man. With the single exception of all Frenchmen, Christophe lavished his favors and the advantages of his commerce upon the white residents in the island, so long as they withheld themselves from all interference with public affairs. The enormous profits of trade ensured them an unbounded opulence, which it was forbidden by the severest enactments to export from the country. A whisper or a sign which spoke contempt or dissatisfaction towards the reigning monarch, was followed by certain arrest, the prelude to a long imprisonment, or disappearance forever. It was prohibited to any foreigner to pass beyond a certain limit, generally two leagues, from the place of his residence, without having previously obtained a written permission for his journey, given under the king's own signature. To all Frenchmen the kingdom of Christophe was a forbidden territory. Trade with French vessels was prohibited by the severest penalties, and the arrival of a Frenchman within the realm was visited upon him by immediate arrest, and imprisonment or death.

A government whose vigilance was ever on the watch for victims to its vengeance might be expected to have its dungeons ever crowded, and its instruments of torture always in motion. A fortress among the mountains of the North called La Ferriere was stocked with prisoners taken from among the dangerous or the imprudent, and that place of confinement became changed into an immense armory, where the incarcerated sufferers were employed in literally forging their own chains, or in preparing means of war for the armies of their tyrant. A system of espionage was established throughout the realm,

which watched with Argus-like vigilance for offenders against the throne and dignity of the black king. A whisper, a breath, a motion, which bore an equivocal meaning, was borne to the jealous ears of Christophe, and a secret order, executed in the darkness of the night, consigned the incautious victim to tortures or death. This tremendous engine of despotism spread terror and solicitude among all ranks of the population. The confiding openness of friendship was hushed and silent, lest its communications should be told and perverted into treason against the monarch. The fêtes in commemoration of the national epochs of Hayti, as well as those in honor of the king and royal family, were converted into occasions for weeding out from among the population those whose affections were not firmly seated upon Christophe. On these anniversaries entertainments were served to whole towns at the royal expense; and the blacks, already intoxicated with joy at the prospect of such festivity, were plied with rum to increase their exhilaration. When a universal spirit of hilarity and merriment had completely banished all the coldness of habitual circumspection and prudence from the hearts of the convivialists, the accredited spies of Christophe were watching with the keenness of the eagle for their prey; and when the king's health was proposed, those who would not say, "God bless him," were marked out for vengeance; and within a few days they generally disappeared forever.

In order to make the institutions of the kingdom as much as possible unlike those of the republic, Christophe undertook the gigantic plan of changing the vernacular language of the island, and of substituting for the Creole French the English tongue. He still preserved his fondness for England and Englishmen, and he resolved that the mandates of his despotic power should be sufficiently potential to convert his black subjects into Englishmen. A royal college was established at Cape Henry, furnished with professors taken from the favored nation; and a royal chamber of public instruction was added to the machinery of government, charged with the supreme control over the schools of the realm, the mode of instruction, and the appointment of professors. Public schools were established in all the principal towns, and no language

but the English was permitted to be taught in them; and the whole nation was brought to aspire to a knowledge of that tongue, as the readiest means to win the royal favor and establish a reputation for the possession of high accomplishments. But the despotic chieftain soon discovered that his favorite object was beyond an easy attainment. His sovereign will could not eradicate the propensities of national character, nor abolish a speech the flowing softness of which is so pre-eminently adapted to the ill-formed vocal organs of the negro. The hopeful pupils of the schools could not master the rough qualities and numerous irregularities of the new language, even though they were assisted in the difficult task by their being taken to the Place d'Armes to be publicly whipped by a platoon of soldiers. With all their efforts they could carry their attainments no farther than to speak a sort of blubbering jargon, which Black Hawk as soon as Addison would have acknowledged as the accents of his native tongue.

The army of the monarchy was in all things better furnished and more respectable than that of the republic. The troops were well clothed and well armed. They were kept under a discipline so strict that it knew no mercy and permitted no relaxation. The smallest delinquency was visited upon the offender with unsparing flagellation or with military execution. The troops received a merely nominal stipend for their services, and each soldier was required to gain his subsistence by the cultivation of a few acres of ground, which were allotted him out of the national domain; and of this scanty resource a fourth was required to be delivered into the hands of the king's officers, as a part of the royal revenues. Although Christophe had determined to maintain his power by the bayonet of the soldiery, he condescended to no measures of unusual moderation in his conduct toward these supporters of his authority. The soldiers of the army as well as the laborers of the plantations lived in perpetual dread of the rod of authority which was ever brandished over their heads; and of the merciless inflictions of authority the former obtained a more than ordinary share. The corps of body guards stationed in the yard of the palace of Sans Souci mutinied upon a certain occasion,

from discontent with the nature of their provisions, and with the mode in which their rations were served up to them. This was done in large tubs, which were filled with boiled bananas, and placed in the palace yard, while the soldiers were furnished with no means of angling their meals from the mighty dish set before them. The tidings of this mutiny were soon conveyed to Christophe, and from the importance of the mutinous corps to the personal safety of the monarch many officers of the palace grew affrighted for the consequences; but Christophe manifested no hesitation in his conduct. A cannon loaded with grape was placed so as to sweep the yard of the barracks, and the match was ready to be applied, when Christophe made his appearance in the gallery to demand if order had been restored. The troops, alarmed for the consequences should they persevere in their revolt, rushed in crowds to their meal, and strove emulously to eat themselves again into the favor of their sovereign.

The black soldiery regarded Christophe with such awe and terror as would be inspired within them by some hideous demon that heaven in its anger had sent to torment them. They dared not meditate rebellion lest some invisible agent should carry their very thoughts to the chambers of the palace, and the voice of the black king speaking in indignation sounded in their ears like the trump announcing universal doom. A private soldier of the royal army, goaded on by cruelties inflicted upon him beyond his powers of endurance, had once wrought himself up to the resolution to destroy the tyrant with his own hands. Fully determined to accomplish his object he even penetrated to an inner saloon of the palace, where he found Christophe asleep upon a couch. The moment seemed propitious; but as the assassin gazed upon the features before which he had so often trembled a sudden panic seized upon him—and feeling himself unable to advance to execute his purpose, he turned and fled in terror from a scene which had overwhelmed his imagination.

The great officers of the army and the highest dignitaries of the realm were regarded by Christophe in little better light than the slaves upon a plantation. Princes, dukes and generals were scourged without mercy by the sovereign himself, and a count of the kingdom had his eye



knocked out by his royal master in one of his paroxysms of extravagant indignation. For small offences the highest chiefs of the army were publicly beaten with a cane, or they were suspended for a longer or shorter period from their dignity, during which time they were clothed in an Osnaburg shirt, and sent to labor among the blacks of the plantations until their term of punishment had expired, when they were recalled to the duties of their station. The judges of the royal tribunal of Cape Henry having upon a certain occasion given offence to the king by a decision upon the bench, were seized in the midst of their judicial labors by a file of soldiers, and conducted to Sans Souci, where they were stripped of their robes of office, and employed for several months in preparing lime for the workmen upon the palace.

Political offences were never left unpunished by Christophe, and toward delinquents of this kind he never manifested his vengeance by open violence or a display of personal indignation. Those who had excited his mistrust were upon some occasions even favored with a personal visit from the monarch, who studiously concealed his vengeful purposes under a show of kindness and the utmost graciousness of manner. But the arrival of his vengeance was not retarded by this display of civility. The agents of Christophe generally made their appearance by night, and the suspected offender was secretly hurried off to the fate which awaited him. But though Christophe's anger for offences not of a political character was violent, it was seldom bloody. Amidst a torrent of philippics against such persons, his customary expression, "Oh diable," was a signal to those in attendance to fall upon the offender and scourge him with canes; and when the punishment had been made sufficient the justice of the monarch was satisfied, and the culprit was restored again to his favor. Sometimes, however, his indignation in these cases was aroused to the ferocity of a savage not to be appeased but by the blood of his victim. While upon a visit to St. Marks, the commandant of that town having excited the king's displeasure a court martial was ordered to be formed for the trial of the offender. The session had hardly commenced when instructions were received from Christophe, commanding the president

of the court martial to condemn the prisoner and have him executed immediately. The president demurred to this summary and seemingly unjust manner of taking off the accused person; and in consequence of this show of disobedience toward the royal mandate, a new order came for the court to suspend its proceedings against the original offender until its president had been condemned and delivered over to execution—a terrific command, which the panic-smitten slaves hastened to obey.

Christophe imitated Toussaint in the favorable estimation in which he held the whites residing under his government, and in the comparative contempt with which he regarded the blacks. Conduct, which in a white he regarded as a pardonable license of behaviour, became insufferable insolence when proceeding from a black. An old negro who had been his ancient comrade, and was his compeer, or baptismal associate, was one day requested by the king to communicate his opinions freely upon the merits of his reign, and the adaptedness of his institutions to the prosperity and happiness of his people; assuring him of perfect safety and the continuance of his favor. The old man unwittingly accepted the request, and while he spoke of the queen in terms of the highest respect, he denounced Christophe as a tyrant, the terror of his country, and the scourge of his race. Christophe listened in silence to the vituperations of his friend, and when he had finished ordered him to be led to execution. Upon another occasion, the commander of an English vessel of war which had touched at Cape Henry had spent an evening ashore accompanied by a number of his officers. While they were returning at a late hour to their boats, the negro guard upon the quay seized upon one of the party, who was carrying a large bundle upon his shoulders; and the sentinel alleged in excuse for his conduct, that it was against the laws of the realm to embark merchandise from the ports by night. The English officer would not surrender himself to the black, and the customary alarm was given. The noise of the affair was spread through the town, and came to the ears of Christophe, who proceeded immediately to the spot to prevent the occurrence of any disaster. When he had been informed of the occurrence he mildly expostulated with

the English officer, telling him he could proceed aboard his vessel with his officers at any hour he wished, though it was contrary to the rules of the port ; but that the sentinel was right to prevent the embarkation of merchandise at such an hour. The English officer, ignorant that he was addressing himself to the black king in person, lavished a torrent of coarse invectives upon the monarch of Hayti, and manifested all suitable indignation for the insult, which in his person had been given to the English nation. A word, a sign from Christophe would have sufficed for the extermination of the English party ; but he preserved a dignified forbearance, and replied to the captain's philippics by assuring him that he did injustice to the English marine, of the character of which he would not judge by the specimen before him.

Christophe, though a pure African, was not a jet black, his complexion being rather a dusky brown. His person was commanding, slightly corpulent, and handsome. His address was cold, polished and graceful. He possessed a certain air of native dignity which corresponded well with his high official situation, and he exacted great personal deference from all who approached him. The personal qualities and majestic bearing of the black king impressed his own characteristics upon his court. On days of royal ceremony, the gorgeous magnificence, joined to the grotesqueness of the scene, must have led the mind of the spectator to some reminiscence of eastern fable, where monsters and chimeras dire are intermingled in close proximity with princesses glittering in jewels, all gathered round the throne of a black enchanter, who had called up the motley assemblage by the magic of his spells. The most formal ceremony was observed upon these occasions, and no grandee of the realm could safely appear at the court of his sovereign without the costume and decorations of his rank. The ceremonial and observances were modelled after the drawing rooms at St. James palace, and Christophe was always pleased with the attendance of whites, particularly if they were titled Englishmen. Many distinguished foreigners visited the court of the black monarch, attracted thither by a curiosity to witness the spectacle of an African levée, a scene which by established regulation was held at the palace

on the Thursday of every week. The company was collected in an antechamber which adjoined the principal hall of the palace, where the novices in courtly life were suitably drilled and instructed in the minute details of the parts they were expected to play in the coming pageantry, by two or three assistants of the grand master of ceremonies, the Baron de Sicard. When all things were in readiness, both within and without, the doors were thrown open, and the monarch of Hayti appeared seated upon the throne in royal costume, with the crown upon his head, and surrounded by a glittering cortege composed of his ministers, grand almoner, grand marshal of the palace, chamberlains, and heralds at arms. The queen occupied a seat at the side of her royal husband, and around her were clustered her ladies of honor, with pages holding their trains. The monarch bowed graciously to the circle around him, but without rising from his seat, and the grand master of ceremonies next proceeded to present to him those who were strangers at court. They were received by Christophe with condescension and a patronising air if they were blacks, and with a polish of manner which might be called elegance, if they were whites of note who had visited his kingdom. He conversed with them of their country, and expressed a desire that amicable relations should be preserved with his government, and that nothing should occur to interrupt the commercial intercourse which existed between them. If they were Europeans he conversed with them of the great events then taking place upon that continent—of the triumphs of the allied army, and of the benefits which would result from the invasion of France and the subjugation of Napoleon. The black dignitaries of the realm were expected to be wanting in no ceremony of court etiquette, and a negligence observed by the keen glance of the monarch in any particular of their conduct, or in the minutest article of their prescribed decorations, was overlooked for the moment, but visited severely upon the delinquent or the grand master of ceremonies, when the occasion was over. The woolly hair of the African was required to be tortured into a suitable degree of sleekness; and for this purpose every black courtier was obliged to wear a requisite quantity of lead rolled within the flowing

ends of his locks, to force them to hang down the neck, and give a proper Louis Quatorze appearance to the bust.

The black king had his antipathies like other men:— he had an invincible repugnance to whiskers, though they are an article of costume in high favor among the blacks when nature has gifted their faces with productiveness. The peremptory orders of Christophe obliged his courtiers to deny themselves an ornament to their physiognomy so valued by them for giving artificial ferocity to their features; and no one dared to assume the prohibited appendage in the presence of the king but a single individual, a sort of African Blucher, whose untamable character even Christophe could not subdue.

The monarch proceeded with his audience by calling upon the consuls of the different nations which had established commercial relations with his government, of whom he separately demanded if any cause of complaint had arisen in the commercial transactions of the merchants of their nation who were engaged in traffic within his ports; and if cases of dissatisfaction were preferred to his hearing, of dishonesty or oppression in the agents of his power, or for delinquencies among the population at large, the affair was usually adjudged upon the spot, and justice granted to the suffering party. When all the business and ceremony of the occasion were at an end; the company retired, the king politely bowing until all had departed.

Upon ordinary occasions Christophe assumed little state, showing himself among his subjects but as a private individual of superior rank. Like his model, George III., it was his habit to walk the streets of the capital dressed in plain citizen's costume, and with no decorations to designate his rank but a golden star upon his breast. In this unostentatious manner he was often seen upon the quay, watching the operations at the custom-house; or in the town, superintending the laborers engaged in the erection of public edifices. His never failing companion upon these occasions was a huge cane which he exercised without mercy upon those who were idle in his presence, or whose petty offences of any kind called for extemporary flagellation.

Christophe was without education, but like his prede-

cessor Dessalines, he found a royal road to learning. His knowledge of books was extensive, as several educated mulattoes retained about his person under the name of secretaries were employed several hours of each day in reading to the monarch. He was particularly delighted with history, of which his knowledge was extensive and accurate; and Frederick the Great of Prussia was a personage with whom above all others he was captivated, the name of Sans Souci having been borrowed from Potsdam. Such sharpness had been communicated to his genius, naturally astute, by having knowledge thus dispensed to him in daily portions, that Christophe became at last a shrewd critic upon the works read before him, and even grew fastidious in the selection of his authors. The events of that stormy period of European history, as detailed in the public journals of the time, were listened to with a greedy ear, and the course of Napoleon's policy was watched with a keenness which manifested Christophe's own interest in the affair.

## CHAPTER VII.

Movements in France in relation to St. Domingo—Their effect upon Christophe—His Proclamation to the blacks, and Manifesto to the nations of the earth—Policy of Petion—Embassy from France to the Colony—Arrest of M. Medina, and total failure of the Negotiations—Death of Petion—Boyer appointed his successor—Measures of the new President—Subjugation of Grande Anse—Burning of Port au Prince—Rebellion against Christophe at St. Marks and Cape Francois—Death of Christophe, and Reflections upon his reign—Incorporation of the Kingdom with the Republic—The Spanish united with the French Territory, to constitute but one Government—Negotiations with France, and conditional recognition of Haytien Independence.

THE long and tremendous struggle in Europe had now closed, it having terminated in the fall of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. The great drama of the revolution was over, "when Russian Cossacks bivouacked in the Champs Elysées, and English soldiers mounted guard at the Tuilleries." The

two chiefs of Hayti now awaited in breathless suspense the next succession of events, which they feared might turn the armies of France upon St. Domingo. Louis XVIII. now seated upon the throne from which his brother had been torn to be dragged to the scaffold, employed himself in gathering together the scattered fragments of the ancient regime. M. Malouet, a former colonist of St. Domingo, and a bitter enemy to the revolution which had wrought the complete destruction of that colony, was called by his royal master to take charge of the marine bureau. The ex-colonists gathered hope from this measure, and enjoyed in perspective the re-possession of their ancient estates in the island. A movement was soon perceptible among them, and it resulted in a petition to the new chamber of deputies, praying that measures might be adopted for the restoration of St. Domingo. This was referred to a committee of members, of which Gen. Desfourneaux, once a planter; and a distinguished military officer of the colony, was made chairman. The deliberations of this committee were brief, and a report was prepared favorable to the demands of the ex-colonists. It presented a flattering estimate of the commercial advantages once derived from the island of St. Domingo, and of the high importance to France of possessing such a colony. A discussion succeeded upon the measures to be adopted for the restitution of the colony, amidst which it was stated, that it was not yet known what were the sentiments and dispositions of the two chiefs of the island, though but little doubt existed that both Christophe and Petion could be persuaded to acknowledge the sovereignty of the restored monarch. It was proposed in consequence, that his majesty be implored to grant to the two principal chiefs of St. Domingo, as well as to several other blacks named in the report, such marks of favor and pecuniary emoluments as would be necessary to induce them to transfer the island to its allegiance to France. Meantime, as these hopes might prove illusory, it was deemed advisable to assist the negotiation by a sufficient military and naval force, to establish the authority of France among the black population, and plant upon the soil of the island the white flag, the symbol of universal peace. "The experience of the past," the report

continued, "proves that the success of such measures must be certain and infallible; but it is deemed necessary, whatever may be the intentions of the chiefs of the island, to send with the colonists a sufficient military force to place them in possession of their ancient property, and preserve the internal tranquillity of the island." It was proposed to the Chamber, that his majesty be requested to impart all necessary information in regard to his policy toward St. Domingo, and in relation to the negroes already in that colony, or those that might be introduced into it in future. It was likewise proposed to determine the civil and political rights of the colonists of all colors who resided in the island, and to frame regulations as to its finances and commerce. The necessity was insisted on of commencing preparations immediately for the attainment of the objects proposed, and the happiest results were promised with confidence.

It might be expected that the announcement of these proceedings of the assembly of the restoration would be of momentous concernment to Christophe, whose bosom was in consequence thrilled with panic or agitated with desperation. He had hoped that his power would remain untouched, and that Louis, satisfied with the recovery of his chief inheritance, would content himself with such limits to his kingdom as had been left by the ravages of the revolution. With these sentiments, a sort of congratulatory address had been issued from the palace of Sans Souci, by Christophe's minister of foreign affairs, addressed to an agent in London, who was furnished with permission to publish it in the journals of France, and declare the friendly disposition of Christophe toward the family then restored to the throne of that kingdom. "The fall of the implacable enemy of nations," says the dispatch, "has in part verified what the sovereign of Hayti had predicted: but the repose of the world will never be assured so long as Napoleon shall continue to live." It was shrewdly thrown out, that the black king was already in possession of a formidable military establishment, and that all things were in readiness for a vigorous resistance in case of an invasion by a foreign enemy. But this, it was alleged, had all been prepared against the power of Napoleon, between whom and the



French nation a wide distinction had in all cases been preserved. The offer was formally made to receive within the ports of the kingdom of Hayti French merchandise and French ships; and the merchants of that nation coming to the island for purposes of traffic, were offered the protection of the government, and it was announced that they would be treated in all respects as the inhabitants of other nations in friendship with Hayti, so long as they yielded a conformity to the laws of the kingdom. The dispatch concluded by asserting that the state of uncertainty in which Christophe found himself as to the measures which the new sovereign of France might take in relation to St. Domingo, prevented him from assuming any thing definitive before receiving information upon that subject; and the agent to whom the document was dispatched was implored by his fidelity to the house of Bourbon, by his constancy to the cause of an unfortunate monarch, and by his attachment to the interest of king Henry, to offer himself as a mediator between the two powers; though by this it was clearly given to be understood that Christophe would consent to no propositions but such as acknowledged him free and independent.

The next measure taken by Christophe, in a crisis so portentous, was to publish a proclamation in the royal gazette of Cape Henry—the *Moniteur* of the black king—announcing to the people of his kingdom the new political relations established by the peace which had been lately concluded between France and the other powers of Europe. After a flourish of felicitations upon the downfall of Napoleon—an event which, it was thought, promised the happiest results to St. Domingo, as its inhabitants would no longer pass their lives in the dread of being again reduced to slavery, it was asserted that no obstacle now existed to prevent the acceptance of overtures from France: and if the new government of that country manifested an amicable disposition toward the people of Hayti the, way was open to the formation of a treaty of alliance and commerce, such as would confer advantages upon France, and be compatible with the honor, security, and independence of Hayti. But if such desirable results could not be obtained, a much less compliant attitude was recommended. Labored exhortations

were addressed to the blacks to arm themselves with a determined spirit, and put forth all their efforts against any attempts which might be undertaken against their liberty; and the inveterate and impenitent enemies of the negro race were defied in explicit terms. "If we love the blessings of peace, we fear not the fatigues and horrors of war. Let our implacable enemies, the French colonists, who for twenty-five years have never ceased from their projects for the re-establishment of slavery, and who have filled all the governments of the earth with their importunities—let them put themselves at the head of armies, and direct themselves against our country. They will be the first victims of our vengeance, and the soil of liberty will eagerly drink the blood of our oppressors. We will show to the nations of the earth what a warlike people can accomplish, who are in arms for the best of causes—the defence of their homes, their wives, their children, their liberty, and their independence." After this terrific expenditure of ink, there followed long details upon the system of defence to be adopted in case of an enemy's descent upon the island; and the proclamation concluded by announcing, "that it was in vain that the enemies of the blacks had counted upon success by sowing discord among them; for the first appearance of an enemy would be the signal for their union. If we are to have war we will become exterminated but we will live independent."

This proclamation was designed to inspire courage in the blacks, and warn them of the consequences which would follow their subjugation by the French. It was also an indirect method of acting upon Petion, and of preserving the necessary coöperation of both governments against any attempts made to restore the island to France.

This publication was made upon the 15th of August, 1814; and upon the 18th of September, another document was issued from Sans Souci, designed as a manifesto to the nations of the earth that the independence of St. Domingo was complete, as it had not only been purchased by conquest, but even approved and acknowledged by France itself. For this purpose a brief enumeration was made of all the principal events of the revolution in the island, from the epoch when the uncon-

ditional liberty of the negroes was proclaimed by the authorized agents of the French government, to the moment when the assembled chiefs of the black army had pronounced the people of St. Domingo an independent nation. "We appeal to all the sovereigns of the earth," continued the manifesto, "to those generous Englishmen who through their parliament have been the first to proclaim the abolition of the slave trade, and have profited by the ascendancy which their achievements have given them among the nations of the earth, to recommend to their allies the measure which they have themselves adopted. We appeal to philanthropists of all nations—to the human race—and we demand what people, after twenty-five years spent in battles and carnage, and having purchased by its bravery liberty and independence, would consent to lay down its arms and become once more a victim to its oppressors? We declare solemnly that we will accept no treaty—no conditions which will endanger the honor, the liberty and independence of the people of Hayti. Faithful to our oath, we will bury ourselves under the ruins of our country sooner than endure the least infringement upon our political rights."

While Christophe was thus busy in the North in making preparations to resist the suspected designs of the new government of France, Petion was devoting himself to the same objects in the South. During every year of his administration since the cessation of hostilities with the monarchy, the president had grown more and more the favorite of the people—his affable manners and benignant disposition purchasing him golden opinions from all who were brought within the sphere of his kindness. However he might perceive that the condition of the blacks had not been greatly ameliorated by their enfranchisement, he was too fond of power and too firmly enthroned in the hearts of his people to be willing to abdicate his authority, and submit himself to the domination of a new population of white colonists, whose prejudices and insolence would operate with peculiar discomfort upon his own caste. It was the express design of the mulattoes to preserve all power in their own hands; and while they dreaded the haughty exclusiveness of the whites, they considered submission to a negro as the low-

est point of degradation, Petion had succeeded in maintaining the pretensions of his race against the attempts of Christophe, and he now resolved to preserve a determined spirit against the overtures or hostile claims of the French.

The intelligence of the restoration of Louis XVIII. had been soon followed to Port au Prince by the startling announcement of the report on the colony of St. Domingo. In such circumstances Petion was not long in forming his resolutions, and within a few days it was proclaimed to the citizens of the republic that at the first appearance of an enemy on the coast they were required to set fire to the towns, and having given every thing to destruction to fly to places of concealment in the mountains. The natives of the country were expected to make a voluntary sacrifice of their homes and property for the preservation of the country; and the foreign residents were encouraged to hope for reparation from the justice of the republic. Having determined upon this policy, Petion strove to arouse the nation to a spirit of enthusiasm in its resistance to the expected invasion. Every citizen was encouraged to be a Spartan, ready to devote himself for the preservation of his country. Instead of collecting arms and munitions of war, the troops of the republic were daily employed in gathering combustibles with which to fill the arsenals and principal edifices of the towns. If this destructive policy was condemned in the presence of Petion he would exclaim, "Look at Moscow; if they had not destroyed Moscow Napoleon would still have been the tyrant of Europe." While these preparations were being made in the towns, new fortifications were established in the fastnesses of the mountains, and these were furnished with supplies of provisions to sustain the inhabitants during their concealment.

But these mighty efforts and sacrifices for the defence of the country proved in the end but unnecessary measures. The French government, instead of threatening the island with a military expedition for its subjugation, contented itself with dispatching a peaceful embassy, to ascertain the sentiments and condition of the two governments of the country. As a preliminary step in the policy of restoring the colony to its dependence upon the parent state, it had been resolved to obtain information as to the

existing condition of the island, and of the feelings cherished toward France by the two chiefs who held the country under their sway. The three commissioners appointed for this purpose were M. M. Dauxion, Lavaysse, Medina and Draverman, who were ordered to make immediate preparations for their departure. After receiving minute instructions from M. Malouet as to the objects of their embassy, and the measures they were to practice for their attainment, they departed for England, and taking passage from Falmouth they arrived at Kingston, in Jamaica, at the end of May, 1814. After a few days spent in conferences with the colonists of St. Domingo resident in that island, M. Lavaysse dispatched a letter to Petion, formally announcing to him the restoration of the Bourbons, and proposing the acknowledgment of Louis XVIII. as the legitimate sovereign of St. Domingo. As it had been thought that success might be easily attained in negotiating with Petion by offering him assistance against Christophe, it was now proposed to the president that in case of a refusal on the part of Christophe to submit to the desires of the French government, an army of that nation should be permitted to land within the territories of the republic, and in the war which would follow against the black chief the neutrality if not the alliance of Petion should be stipulated to France. These overtures were founded upon the opinion that the class of mulattoes would readily coöperate with the French for the subjugation of the negro chief, and that a point of support might thus be obtained within the territory under their control to such military operations as might lead to the conquest of the whole island.

A dispatch was next directed to Christophe, in which he was threatened with an invasion by all the forces of combined Europe in case of his refusal to submit himself to the will of France. He was pointedly informed that the European powers, and Great Britain in particular, had unanimously resolved to destroy all those governments which had originated in the changes of the French revolution, and that the new government of Hayti would be included in that condemnation if its chief should be so blind to his true interest as to reject the propositions made him by the French government. The threat was plainly

expressed that France would convert into soldiers the slaves that she could procure from the coast of Africa, in order to exterminate the rebels of St. Domingo: but the letter expressed the confidence of the French commissioners that Christophe had too much wisdom not to prefer the honor of being admitted into the number of the loyal servants of France to the precarious position of being the chief of a nation of revolted slaves.

Petion replied immediately to the letter addressed to him, and politely invited M. Lavaysse to visit him in Port au Prince. This characteristic courtesy of Petion added immensely to the hopes and expectations of the French commissioners, and M. Lavaysse seized upon the first conveyance which offered, to proceed to the scene of his negotiations, where, as he thought, he was about to receive the loyal felicitations which the republicans of Hayti were ready to lavish upon the new government of France. Within a few days he arrived at Port au Prince aboard an English vessel, whence before he landed he dispatched another letter to Petion, in which he attributed all the evils which had afflicted St. Domingo "to men who dishonored the name of Frenchmen—the enemies of the house of Bourbon—the disciples of Robespierre and Marat, and the worthy satellites of their successor, Bonaparte." After this exordium, the French commissioner proposed to Petion that he should recognize and proclaim the sovereignty of Louis XVIII.—that the white flag of the Bourbons should be again displayed in St. Domingo, and that the rulers of the republic of Hayti should imitate the conduct of the French at the time of Bonaparte's abdication. In consideration for the fulfilment of these conditions, the president and his colleagues in power were offered rewards of personal dignity, which they were to enjoy under the favor of the restored monarch. It was asserted that the light of the age had effectually dispelled the mists of prejudice once so revolting to the sensibilities of the mulattoes, and that Louis, like the divinity of which he was the image, possessed an equal affection for all his subjects, of whatever color. This portraiture of the new king was draperied with all suitable execrations of the Corsican tyrant and denunciations of the Pacha Leclerc, and the other agents of oppression whom the

usurper had sent to St. Domingo in the ranks of the expedition of 1802.

Petion's reply to this dispatch of the French commissioner assured M. Lavaysse of his desire for peace, and for the prosperity of France, now so happily restored to its legitimate rulers. The president then entered into a long enumeration of the evils with which the revolutionary government had afflicted his country, and he announced at the same time that he would convoke the authorities of the republic without a moment's delay, and submit the propositions of the French government to their consideration. Orders were in consequence issued for the assembling of the two legislative bodies, and the demands of the French government were formally submitted to their deliberations. These legislative dignitaries had been previously taught to place the standard of all patriotism in resistance to the claims of France; and on this particular occasion had it been the earnest wish of Petion to form a coalition with the French against Christophe, the attainment of his desire would have been placed beyond the bounds of possibility by this dogged spirit of his chambers. Time had scarcely elapsed for the due consideration of the subject in all its bearings, when the resolution was taken unanimously to reject the propositions of the French, and the president of the republic hastened to communicate the unfavorable result to the French commissioner; to whom he gave a detailed account of the reasons which had actuated the legislative assemblies to this determination. But as a propitiatory supplement to this communication, it was added, that the republic of Hayti, in its desire for the establishment of commercial relations with France, and to manifest the respect it had ever entertained for his majesty, Louis XVIII., would consent to a pecuniary indemnity for the losses which had been sustained by the ancient colonists by the destruction of their estates and the affranchisement of their slaves. M. Lavaysse did not feel himself authorized to enter upon negotiations upon this basis, and disappointed in the result of overtures which had been extra-official on his part, he returned to France to obey the remaining part of his instructions, which was to communicate intelligence upon the existing condition of the island.

M. Medina was less fortunate in his embassy to the court of Christophe. Upon his reception of the letter addressed to him by M. Lavaysse, the black king had convoked an extraordinary assembly of the chief men of his kingdom, and to this body he submitted the dispatch of the French envoy, with a secret understanding that the reply must be positive, and that the expressions of the national representatives must breathe all suitable ferocity. It was in consequence distinctly stated, that if the choice must be made between slavery and death, the blacks of the country would declare unanimously for the latter alternative. "But no," added the manifesto: "Hayti will be invincible, and we end by offering our arms, our property, and our lives in defence of our king, our country, and our liberty." M. Medina was a native of Santo Domingo, and had been an officer in the army of Napoleon. He landed on his dangerous mission at Monte Christe, and after visiting his estates in the Vega he proceeded by land toward the territories of Christophe. The latter was soon informed of the envoy's approach, and the latter had scarcely made his entrance into the kingdom when he was arrested as a French spy, and carried to Cape Henry to be tried for treasonable designs against his native country in lending himself to further the projects of France against the blacks. The French commissioner found that his life was at stake, but he did not allow himself to be intimidated. He was subjected to a long and minute examination before his judges, and he fearlessly announced that the revolted negroes must return to their obedience, and that their ancient masters must be reinstated in their possessions as at Martinique and Guadaloupe, or they would call down upon themselves the severest vengeance of France. But little deliberation was necessary to decide in a case in which the will of Christophe was already known, and M. Medina's official inviolability did not preserve him from condemnation.

M. Draverman had been seized with a paralytic disorder before the time of his embarkation from Kingston to enter into negotiations with Gen. Borgella at Aux Cayes, and thus nothing was undertaken for the restoration of the southern province to its allegiance to France. M. Lavaysse was the only remaining commissioner to report



the result of the mission to the French government, and he was charged upon his return with having exceeded his instructions, which, it was alleged, had been confined exclusively to the acquirement of information in regard to the existing condition of St. Domingo, without any power whatever to propose overtures of peace or alliance with either of the two governments of the country. Thus the propositions which had been offered to Petion by the agent of France were formally disavowed by that government on his return. This policy was, however, adopted by M. Malouet in consequence of the failure of the negotiation, for M. Medina had already declared during his trial, that the French commissioners had been instructed to proceed cautiously in their measures, as it was desirable to restore the blacks to their obedience by conciliation if possible, and if all overtures of a peaceful nature should fail the employment of a military force would next be resorted to in order to subdue the island to the dominion of France. Measures began already to be taken for an appeal to the latter alternative, as it had been determined to fit out another expedition against St. Domingo, which was destined to sail from France in the spring of 1815. But before the details of the proposed armament could be arranged an unexpected event took place, amidst the consequences of which the blacks of St. Domingo were entirely forgotten. Louis XVIII. had already been driven from his throne, and those of his followers who remained faithful to him were dispersed as exiles in foreign lands. Bonaparte had escaped from Elba, and the memorable hundred days had now commenced. The restored emperor issued a decree abolishing the slave trade, and propositions of peace were dispatched to the two governments of Hayti. But whether Christophe and Petion formed a decision upon these new conditions, or treated them with neglect is an inconsiderable affair, as the man of destiny was too much engaged with the events of his last campaign to attend to the details of his colonial administration.

When the battle of Waterloo had consigned the French empire to the historian, Louis XVIII. became once more the sovereign of France, and new solicitations from the ex-colonists of St. Domingo urged him to direct measures

for the establishment of their interests in that island. But the disturbed and fluctuating condition of France consequent upon the mighty events which had just taken place in that country, and the petitions and complaints of a host of French emigrants, that had been beggared by the revolution, deluged the throne with distress and perplexity, and left no leisure to the restored monarch to direct his thoughts to the concerns of a distant colony. Christophe and Petion were thus left in tranquillity for another year, and this season was improved by them in concentrating their power, and preparing for the dreaded contingencies of the future. Although but little change or melioration had been accomplished in the features of their respective administrations of government, or in the habits and character of the population under their control, the lapse of a single year had placed the independence of the country still farther beyond the power of France. The menaces denounced by the last embassy to the country had completely failed of being executed, and powerless threats employed against barbarians are the last measures to succeed in commanding their obedience. Christophe had violated the law of nations and remained unpunished, and he now considered the dread of France as a mere bugbear, the last image of terror to strike panic into a nation of warriors.

Both governments now employed themselves in giving solidity and completeness to the measures of their internal policy. The lands in the republic began to grow more cultivated, and with the increase in the productions of that territory the commerce within its ports became more considerable. Petion's authority became more and more established, and the jealousies of the blacks had at length yielded a reluctant consent to the greater lenity intermixed with the exercise of power by a mulatto.

When the pretensions of France had been for some time forgotten, the attention of the two chiefs of Hayti was directed thither by another report on the colonies, given in the summer of 1816. In consequence of this new disclosure of the opinions of his cabinet, the king appointed two commissioners for St. Domingo, M. Es-mangart and M. Fontanges, who were furnished with childish powers, as they were charged with the civil and

military administration of St. Domingo without a single soldier to sustain them in executing their unconditional instructions. These powerless agents sailed immediately on their difficult mission. They coasted the island in an American vessel, and sent ashore letters addressed to Gen. Christophe. But the black monarch was not yet at St. Helena, and he persevered in preferring the title of His Majesty to the less exalted designation of General. He would not acknowledge that the dispatch had been intended for him, and the letters were accordingly sent back with their seals unbroken. In this dilemma the French commissioners were at a loss how to proceed, but not yet discouraged they entered the port of Gonaïves, and putting their dispatches to Christophe under an envelope, they addressed them to the commandant of that place, the Baron Barthelemy. The contents of the dispatches were now made known, and though their persuasions were intended to be forcible, they were quite insufficient to sustain their demands; and the new propositions were treated with utter contempt by the negroes, who now more emboldened than ever hurled back their defiance at the unsupported pretensions of France; and this second deputation from the restored government left behind it no results, but a fuller assurance on the part of the blacks that nothing could now subdue them to their ancient condition, as France was reduced to the necessitous extremity of soliciting their allegiance by a powerless embassy.

Although Christophe made no open attempts to interrupt the peace which now existed between the two states, he cherished within him the ambitious hope of one day subduing the whole island to his sway. He had left the field of his military operations, because he had discovered that the successes which he gained over his adversary did not fully indemnify him for the neglect of industry and internal prosperity within his own realm, nor for the loss of population sustained by his territory through the perpetual desertions occasioned by the superior attractiveness of the republican government. The latter consideration was not of a nature to soothe the hatred cherished by Christophe against his rival; and as the drain still continued, notwithstanding his military cordons and the ex-

trement penalties which he had decreed against it, he was farther than ever from any disposition to make peace with the republic.

The maroons under Gomar still continued their depredations upon the districts bordering upon Grande Anse; and they were ever ready to join in the hostilities carried on between the more legitimate powers of the country, provided the necessary stipend of abundant plunder was promised them in return for the assistance they rendered. They had been allied to the forces of Petion in the operations of the latter against Rigaud, and Christophe still employed them as secret auxiliaries in his measures to undermine the government of Petion. Gomar had suffered himself to be created Count of Jeremie, and in repayment for this dignity conferred upon him he engaged himself in the service of his benefactor. An intestine war was thus perpetuated within the very heart of the republic, and Petion, who had endured for twelve years the ravages of this gang of banditti without the power of overcoming them by conquest or negotiation, saw with utter discouragement that the gradual extension of their depredations was but a succession of triumphs to Christophe.

Petion had long been despondent for the permanence of the republic, and this feeling had by degrees grown into a settled despair, when he discovered that his long administration had not succeeded in giving order and civilization to the idle and barbarous hordes composing the dangerous population of his government. While the more despotic sway of Christophe maintained the prosperity of his kingdom, Petion found that the people of the republic were becoming every day a more ungovernable rabble, indolent, dissolute, and wretched. While the coffers of Christophe were overflowing with millions of treasures wrung by the hard exactions of his tyranny from the blacks who toiled upon the soil, the finances of the republic were already in irretrievable confusion, as the productions of that territory were hardly sufficient for the sustenance of its population. Amidst these perplexities and embarrassments Petion fell sick in the month of March, 1818, and after a malady which continued but

eight days he perished of a mind diseased, declaring to his attendants that he was weary of life.

The announcement that Petion was no more threw all the foreign merchants of the republic into consternation. They expected that an event like this would be the harbinger of another revolution to overturn all that had been achieved, or of a long and destructive anarchy, which would completely annihilate the little authority there yet remained in the republic. Merchandize to the amount of millions had been sold to the credit of the country, in the doubtful hope that its government would be durable. Both treasures and blood were at stake, but the terror of the moment was soon appeased. At the tidings of Petion's illness the Senate had assembled itself in session, and this body conferred power upon the expiring president to nominate his successor; and Petion, when he foresaw that his death was inevitable, designated for this purpose Gen. Boyer, then commanding the arrondissement of Port au Prince.

The funeral ceremonies of the deceased president took place upon the first of April, and were performed with the most august solemnity. All the great officers of the army were ordered to their posts, and required to maintain a ceaseless vigilance for the preservation of tranquillity. An embargo was laid until the Sunday following upon all vessels in the harbor of Port au Prince, and several detachments of troops were ordered to march toward different points of the frontiers. The observance of every precaution which the most anxious solicitude could suggest for the maintenance of internal peace, and the prevention of invasion from abroad, was evidence that Petion had bequeathed his power to a successor worthy of his choice.

The new president was peaceably acknowledged by the people of the republic as their lawful chief, and no other general of the army manifested any disposition to establish an adverse claim to the vacant dignity. Boyer thus found himself in full and tranquil possession of the authority to which he had been appointed by Petion. Hopes were even cherished that the new administration would surpass in great results that of Boyer's predecessor, as it was deemed that the present occupant possessed more

commanding talents, and less of that desponding timidity which had been the personal characteristic of the deceased president. Boyer's opinions in regard to commerce were considered more extended and enlightened, and his elevation was hailed with enthusiasm by the mulattoes, as significant that the sceptre of power was not to depart from their race.\*

In consequence of these new events in the fortunes of the republic, it was feared that Christophe might take occasion from the unsettled condition which must ensue before the new president could give firmness to his administration, to renew his hostile attempts upon the frontiers, particularly if another aspirant to the presidency should start up to disturb the tranquillity of Boyer's new authority. To prevent an occurrence so calamitous to the country, Boyer made immediate preparations to visit the principal military posts upon the outskirts of his territory, and to station a large force, as an army of observation, upon the northern boundaries of the republic.

Before his departure from the capital the new president published a proclamation, addressed to the people of his government, in which he did ample justice to the merits and praiseworthy qualities of his patron and predecessor in authority, as well as to the readiness with which the citizens and the army of the republic had transferred their obedience to the new government. He promised to maintain the inviolability of property, and to afford his protection to the rights of proprietors of every class—to patronize the enterprises of foreign and native merchants residing within his jurisdiction, and to regard every thing as sacred which had been established by his predecessor. In reply to the amicable professions contained in this proclamation, the foreign merchants residing in Port au Prince subscribed an address of condolence to the new president, in which they also expressed their felicitation that a successor had been found worthy of the virtuous Petion; and they solicited the new functionary to continue the protection which had been so long awarded them under the administration which had just closed.

Christophe looked with fresh interest at the affairs of the rival government at this dangerous crisis of its for-

\* Malo.

tunes, and he hoped that a multitude of aspirants to the vacated dignity would favor by their dissensions the designs which he entertained of adding the whole island to his sceptre. But the active forecast of Boyer had already established a strong military cordon upon the frontiers of the republic, and a line of bayonets from the sea to the mountains admonished Christophe that invasion for the present must be hopeless. In this state of things nothing remained to the black king but to give new instructions to his agents among the maroons of Grande Anse. From this nest of banditti proposals were sent to the citizens of the republic to unite themselves to the loyal subjects of Christophe, and constitute but a single people, as in the time of Dessalines. But the blacks were terrified at the name of Christophe, and no one was found possessing an inclination to exchange the indolence and license enjoyed under the presidents of the republic for the toil and prosperity, coupled with the scourge and dungeon, which awaited them under the sway of Christophe.

Boyer, finding himself tranquilly seated in power, and placed beyond any danger from the hostile enterprises of the rival dynasty, devoted himself to the encouragement of agriculture and commerce within his territory. He made a tour of inspection through all the different districts, and in each of them the due observance of the laws was enjoined, and the citizens were urged to abandon their idle habits, and for the good of the state if not for the promotion of their individual interests, to employ themselves in the developement of the great resources of the country.

Within a few months after his elevation to power the new president formed the resolution to disperse the hordes of banditti that infested Grande Anse, and kept the whole South in perpetual alarm. Conscious of the importance there existed of depriving his great competitor of a lodgment within the very heart of the republic, such as to expose its very capital to the danger of an attack both in front and rear, Boyer determined to fit out a sufficient force to sweep the mountains of La Hotte, and if possible, to capture Gomar within the very fastnesses which had been for so many years his natural citadel. Christophe, on the other hand, determined if possible to preserve this important point d'appui, from which he could so

easily gain an entrance to the territory of the republic, made a diversion in favor of the maroons in this movement against them, by assuming a hostile attitude upon the northern frontier of the republic. A formidable detachment of the royal army was already entering the neutral territory of Boucassin and threatening another attack upon Port au Prince, when Boyer found it necessary to defer his intended expedition against Gomar, and recall all his forces to repel the danger which was threatening in an opposite quarter. This was the single result which Christophe designed to accomplish by his movement on Port au Prince; and when this had been effected his army returned to its quarters in the North.

But Boyer was not to be turned aside from his resolution of rescuing the best districts of his territory from continual spoliation, and when the panic had subsided which had been inspired by the threatened invasion of Christophe he put his troops in motion in the autumn of 1819, for a campaign against the maroons of Grande Anse. Gomar, who just before this period had the audacity to extend his depredations to the very neighborhood of Port au Prince, was invaded in his retreat by the republican army under the generals Lys, Francisque and Borgella, and the maroons were driven from the open country to take refuge in the woods and hiding places of the mountains. Here they were discovered and slaughtered without mercy. A price was set upon the head of Gomar, his followers were dispersed or slain, and a few of them returned to offer their obedience to the authorities of the republic. The horde of brigands was effectually broken up, and the fertile district of Grande Anse delivered of the scourge which had for so many years made it a scene of desolation was at length restored to the dominions of the republic.\*

The president immediately departed from his capital to visit the scene of his conquest, and to repair, by all means in his power, the ravages which had so long been obstacles to the prosperity of that district. His journey was a continual triumph; and the acclamations of the people, most of whom were mulattoes, followed him wherever he went. Those of Jeremie were found assembled upon the public square of the town—and they lavished upon

\* Malo.



the president, whose enterprising spirit had delivered them of their dangerous enemies, professions of allegiance and gratitude which were enthusiastic. Boyer replied to these assurances of loyal attachment by an affable expression of the affection which he felt for those who had pledged themselves so cordially to support his administration, alleging that he was the father of his people, and that clemency was the basis of his character. "Gomar himself," exclaimed he, "the guilty Gomar can obtain forgiveness, if he profits by the time I grant him to deliver himself up to my authority before my departure from Grande Anse." Having accomplished the objects of his visit, and left peace and tranquillity where those conditions had so long been unknown, Boyer commenced his return to his capital, gratified that his attainment of power had been effected so peaceably, and that the hopes of his administration were already based more solidly than ever upon the wishes of the people.

Boyer had now attained complete success in his design to shut the boundaries of his states against the machinations of Christophe; and until a more favorable moment he contented himself to maintain a policy strictly defensive against an opponent so warlike. The latter, on his side enraged at the defeat and overthrow of his allies of Grande Anse, began to threaten another invasion of Boyer's territory, and many months glided away in the daily expectation of the commencement of hostilities between the two governments. In this interval the growing tyranny of Christophe forced a flood of emigration from his realms into the territories of the republic, and the very household troops of the monarch began to desert in large numbers from the service of a sovereign whose cruelty decimated their ranks at the instigation of his caprice. Bold, crafty and suspicious, Christophe with one breath congratulated his subjects upon the glorious possession which they held of personal liberty and national independence, and with another he doomed them to scourgings, imprisonment and death. So unlimited and habitual was his severity, that it was said of him that he would put a negro to death with as little hesitation as a sportsman would bring down an article of game. His dungeons were filled with thousands of victims of all colors, and new de-

tachments of prisoners were daily arriving to swell the number. The innocent were confounded with the guilty; for under the promptings of his hatred or jealousy the black despot would not stop to make nice discriminations. The citadel Henry was another Bastile, and the secret orders of the monarch were worse than lettres de cachet, for the nocturnal arrests executed by the Dahomets were portentous of more dreadful horrors than ever befell the victims of French tyranny.

A new calamity, apart from the afflictions of war, was now appointed to fall upon the town of Port au Prince. On the 15th of August, 1820, that capital was doomed to another conflagration. A fire, which was foolishly ascribed to the agents of Christophe, was discovered at noon, bursting from a house upon the sea-shore. The flames, driven by a strong sea-breeze, communicated themselves to the adjacent habitations; and where there were neither engines, pumps or water, the conflagration made a progress so destructive, that within a few hours all the best edifices of the town were consumed to ashes. Hundreds of store-houses, filled with merchandise, were completely destroyed, and five hundred houses were burnt up. The loss in buildings, furniture and merchandise was estimated at twenty-five millions of francs. Boyer was absent from the town when the intelligence reached him that his capital was in flames, and he returned in haste to the scene of the fire. Orders were immediately issued for the soldiers to be marched out of the town—as instead of employing themselves to extinguish the flames, they had already abandoned themselves to mutiny and pillage. The disorder was thus checked by the removal of these dangerous guardians of the town, and the place was delivered up to the safeguard of its more orderly inhabitants. On the day following this disaster a decree was published by the president, permitting the free importation of materials for building for the period of one year, in order to facilitate the restoration of the town. But the rabble of soldiers and dissolute blacks gathered in the town were unwilling that no further occasion should be furnished them to commit depredation upon the property of the citizens, and a succession of incendiary attempts took place to destroy that part of the town which

had been spared from the calamity that had overwhelmed the rest. An unceasing vigilance was required for many months to preserve the town from the utter destruction with which it seemed threatened; and an armed police was found necessary to traverse the streets both by day and night, to preserve the place from being destroyed by those who were employed to defend it.

Christophe, who now might be denominated the Caligula of the blacks, was every day adding to the discontent and terror of his subjects. His soldiers were treated with extreme severity for every real or fancied fault, and they sought for nothing so earnestly as for an occasion to abandon his service, and gain an asylum within the territories of his rival; or to attempt, what they scarcely dared to meditate, the dethronement of a tyrant who caused them to pass their lives in wretchedness. Christophe possessed a knowledge of this disaffection entertained towards him, and instead of seeking to assure and perpetuate the allegiance of his army, to the bayonets of which he was indebted for his power, his vengeance became every day more watchful and more terrible, until his conduct exceeded in cruelty even that which had already spread hatred and misery throughout the nation. Christophe determined to rule through the inspiement of fear alone, and he practised no arts of conciliation to preserve to his interests those even who were necessary to the maintenance of his power. His despotism was thus carried beyond the limits of endurance, though it was exercised over a people who are more readily restrained by the rod of absolutism than by the more dainty refinements of moral persuasion. So far from seeking to attach his great officers to his own person, by lavishing upon them the favors of his government, his suspicions had become alarmed at the growing wealth of his nobles, in consequence of the immense incomes drawn by them from the estates placed under their control, within the districts of which they were the titular lords. To prevent this inordinate increase of wealth among a class of persons who, it was thought, might one day employ it against the throne and dignity of the sovereign, an institution was formed called the Royal Chamber of Accounts, which, by a sort of star chamber process, appraised the estates of the nobility, and disburdened them of so much

of their wealth as the king deemed a matter of superfluity to them. Several of the black nobles had already been subjected to the jurisdiction of this royal court; and, actuated by secret indignation for this arbitrary spoliation of their property, they sought only for an opportunity to drive Christophe from his power, in the hope to share the same authority among themselves.

In the midst of these silent heart-burnings, Christophe was attacked, while at mass, with a paralytic disease, in the month of August, 1820, and he was carried immediately to Sans Souci, where he remained an invalid for many months. This event, so favorable to the treacherous designs of the discontented chiefs of his government, furnished an occasion for the formation of a dangerous conspiracy, at the head of which were Paul Romaine, Prince of Limbé, and Gen. Richard, the governor of the royal capital. The conspirators designed to put Christophe to death, and after the performance of a deed so acceptable to the nation, to form a northern republic, similar in its structure to that which existed in the South, at the head of which was to be placed Gen. Romaine, with the title of president. The minutest arrangements had been already prepared to ensure the success of the enterprise, when Gen. Richard despatched a letter to president Boyer, acquainting him with the intentions of the conspirators, and making him a partner in the proposed undertaking, in order that an asylum might be furnished to the conspirators in case of a failure in their enterprise.

But while these preparations were being made, a revolt against Christophe burst forth in an unexpected quarter. A division of the royal army, cantoned at St. Marks, and consisting of a force of six thousand men, exasperated at the cruelties practised upon them, seized upon this occasion to revolt. The commanding general was beheaded, and a deputation of the mutineers was dispatched to carry the head of the murdered officer to the president of the republic, at Port au Prince, to announce to him that the revolted corps had abandoned the cause of Christophe, and to assure him that it was their unanimous wish, as well as that of the inhabitants of St. Marks, to unite themselves to the republic, and be in future entitled to the protection of its government.

The intelligence of this revolt was carried quickly to Christophe's capital, and it produced an explosion of popular feeling that betokened the speedy downfall of the black monarchy. The troops of the capital immediately put themselves under arms and assumed a threatening attitude. On the evening of the 6th of October the inhabitants of the capital were startled at the noise of drums beating to arms. The streets were soon filled with soldiers, obeying or resisting the authority of their officers, as the latter happened to favor or hate the power of the king. The governor of the capital, who did not wish for such a denouement to his plans, undertook measures to subdue the mutinous spirit of the troops; but though he sought for support on every side, he found no readiness either on the part of the army or of the people to assist him in his attempt. The tumult increased every moment, and spread by degrees to every part of the town, until the whole population became united in the rebellion. The army took the lead, and the whole body of the inhabitants followed the example of the soldiers. It was decided by acclamation to march upon Sans Souci, and seize upon Christophe within his own palace, but this movement was deferred until the following day.

Meantime Christophe had been informed of these proceedings, so ominous to the preservation of his power if not of his life. He had not yet recovered from his malady, but his unconquerable energy of soul had not been paralyzed by disease, for he leaped immediately from his bed, demanding that his arms should be brought to him, and that his horse should be ordered to the door. But if his bold spirit did not quail before the calamities which were impending over him, his bodily frame proved unequal to the activity of his mind, and he was compelled to rest satisfied with sending forward his guards to subdue the rebellious troops of the capital, while he remained within his palace to await his destiny.

Meantime, Gen. Richard, the governor of the capital, had put himself at the head of the insurgents, the number of whom amounted to ten or twelve thousand, and the column took up its march directly for Sans Souci. On Sunday, the 8th of October, the insurgents encountered on their way the detachment of body guards which the

monarch had dispatched against them. The two forces quickly arranged themselves in order of battle, and a brisk fire commenced between them. It continued, however, but a few minutes. The cry of the insurgents was "liberté, liberté," and the utterance of this magical word soon became contagious in the ranks of the royal guards. The latter had even less predilection for their monarch than the other corps of the army, for their situation and rank bringing them in nearer contact with the royal person they were more frequently exposed to the terrific explosions of the royal vengeance. Thus the watchword of the mutineers was answered with redoubled enthusiasm by the household troops, and they passed over in a body to join the forces of the insurgents. The whole military force of the kingdom was now united into a vast column of mutineers, burning for vengeance upon Christophe, and pressing onward to the palace of Sans Souci. The black king was soon informed that his guards had declared against him, and that the forces of the insurgents were already in the immediate vicinity of his palace. At this astounding intelligence he exclaimed in despair, "then all is over with me!" and seizing a pistol he shot a ball through his heart.

Thus perished a man who had succeeded in maintaining his authority over the blacks for a longer time than any of the chiefs of the revolution. This he accomplished through the single agency of the extraordinary energy of his character. The unshrinking boldness and decision of his measures made terror the safeguard of his throne, until his excessive cruelty drove his subjects to a point at which fear is changed into desperation. His policy was that of Toussaint, carried to an excess of rigor which made his government a despotism. Like his great predecessor, he possessed such intimate knowledge of the African character, as enabled him to succeed completely in controlling those placed under his sway, and, in spite of the national propensities, to make his plans effectual for developing the resources of the country. While the territory of the republic was still a neglected waste, and its population a horde of impoverished barbarians, the lands of the kingdom were in a condition of high productiveness, and Christophe died leaving millions in the royal

treasury. But the salutary restraints imposed upon his disorderly subjects at the commencement of his reign, had been augmented by degrees to correspond to the demands of an ever growing jealousy, until they had become changed to a rigorous severity of discipline, or vengeance, such as has been practised in few countries upon the globe. The dungeons of the Citadel Henry were almost as fatal to human life as the Black Hole at Calcutta, and it has been asserted, that amidst the pestiferous exhalations and suffocative atmosphere of these abodes of misery, the prisoners were almost sure to perish after a short confinement. With less truth it has been alleged, that fifty thousand persons lost their lives in these living tombs, while thirty thousand others perished of fatigue, hunger, and hardship, of those who had been condemned for offences of a lighter nature, to labors upon the public works of the kingdom, all of which were performed under the lash and bayonet of the soldiery.\* These estimates are probably beyond the truth, though the number is incredible of those who perished under the severe exactions of Christophe's tyranny, by hardship, imprisonment, military execution, or the infliction of sudden death, executed amidst a burst of ferocious vengeance in the black despot. Christophe failed of giving perpetuity to his government through the mere abuse of his power. His government was better adapted to the character of a people but half civilized than the milder institutions of the republic; and through the natural operation of events the kingdom of Christophe was destined to survive the rival power of the South, and to extend itself over the whole island, if the agent of its sovereignty had been possessed of half the political forecast and deep machiavelism of Toussaint. But Christophe, advanced as he was from a mere negro chief of some fame to an absolute sovereign, became intoxicated with his power and changed into a madman, who spread exasperation where he should have used means to conciliate; and having once acquired an appetite for slaughter; he could not be satisfied but by hecatombs of victims offered to his devouring fierceness.

The forces of the insurgents pressed forward to the palace of Sans Souci, which was soon surrounded by a

\* Malo.

host of blacks, now as much exalted with ferocity as they had been a few days before depressed by terror and servility. The windows and doors of the edifice were burst in, and crowds of exasperated soldiers filled the halls of the royal residence. The dead body of the black monarch was outraged by a thousand acts of impotent vengeance, and the family of Christophe were dragged forward into the midst of the crowd. The two sons of the king, as the representatives of their father, were particular objects of the public hatred. One of them lost all his firmness in a moment so terrible to his fears. He fell upon his knees before the enraged soldiery, and begged suppliantly for his life; but the heroism of the other did not fail him. He called scornfully upon his murderers to advance, and pierce with their bayonets the son of their king—a request which it is unnecessary to say was readily obeyed. The queen and the two black princesses were saved from death through the exertions of some of the chief officers. They were placed in a house adjoining the palace, and put under the protection of a general officer having under his orders a battalion of the royal army.

While these events were in progress, Boyer had already gained possession of St. Marks. As has been before stated, the insurgents of that town had dispatched a deputation to Port au Prince, carrying the head of their commanding general, as confirmation that they had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Christophe, and announcing to Boyer that they were desirous to transfer their allegiance to the republic. The president, ignorant of the rebellion at the Cape, and unwilling to commence hostilities against so dangerous an opponent as Christophe, unless the success of the undertaking was placed beyond the chance of failure, dispatched one of his officers to St. Marks, to obtain more accurate information as to the truth of the statement made by the deserters from St. Marks. In the meantime, he issued orders for the assembling of troops in Port au Prince, and for every thing to be put in readiness for a rapid march upon St. Marks, in case the tidings of the revolt were confirmed upon the return of the officer dispatched for the purpose of reconnoitering. The latter returned with all speed to give the



required assurance, and Boyer immediately put himself at the head of his army, and hastened by forced marches into the territory of the monarchy. Within a few days he made his entrance into St. Marks, at the head of eighteen thousand men, the republican army being received by the people with acclamations of joy, and the town being transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic amidst the huzzas of the multitude, the ringing of bells, and salutes of artillery. Orders had been previously given to the vessels of war then lying at Port au Prince to put to sea, in order to coöperate with the movements of the column marching by land.

Meantime the revolution had been perfected at Cape Francois, though not without some bloodshed. Many of Christophe's officers had remained faithful to his cause, even when the death of the monarch had made that cause desperate. Eight of these persevering royalists had already been massacred by the insurgents. The Baron Baltie, one of them, made an unavailing recantation in his last moments, and demanded pity of his murderers, but the Prince Joachim, Duke of Fort Royal, affirmed with unwavering constancy, that so long as there remained to him a single soldier he would maintain the cause of his king.

The two revolts at St. Marks and Cape Francois had been independent of each other; and while those engaged in the former designed to annex their territory to that of the republic, the chiefs of the former were making preparations to accomplish their original plan of establishing a separate government in the North, placed upon a similar basis to that of Port au Prince. The lines of separation had become so distinct between the North and the South that but little sympathy of feeling survived between the people of the two territories, and a secret aversion was felt by the negroes of the North to coalesce with the haughty mulattoes of the South. With such feelings the principal chiefs of the North had already assembled at Cape Francois, and had determined to change the kingdom of Christophe into a northern republic, to constitute an independent government, at the head of which Paul Romaine was to be placed as president; and he was required to form a treaty of alliance with Boyer as

chief of the republic of the South. When these preliminary arrangements had been made propositions were dispatched to President Boyer, who was then at St. Marks; but the mulatto president would not listen to these plans, which placed a barrier to his personal ambition, and tended to perpetuate war in the island. He openly rejected the proposals of Romaine and his associates, and informed their deputies that he required of all the chiefs of the North a submission to his government, without condition or reserve. At the same time he addressed to his army, under the form of an order of the day, a formal proclamation, announcing to all the republic the death of Christophe, and inviting the citizens to oblivion of the past, and future union. He lavished his acknowledgements upon all those in particular who at a crisis so eventful had courageously embraced the cause of liberty; and he urged those who had not yielded their assent to the new order of things to come forward without fear, and count upon the generosity of the republic, which was pleased to regard those who had followed the standard of the tyrant rather as erring children than as enemies to be destroyed. The president then announced that he was about to commence a military tour through the country, to confirm and extend the blessings of liberty to all the citizens of the republic.

Within a few days Boyer took up his march for the North; and his progress was rapid and his conduct decided. On the 21st of October he took possession of Gonaives without encountering the least resistance, and upon the day following he entered Christophe's capital at the head of twenty thousand men. Every thing had already been prepared for his reception. Romaine and his followers had renounced their design upon the rapid advance of Boyer, and in view of their weakness and the want of support to their pretensions. An assembly of the principal inhabitants and the chief officers of the army had already issued a proclamation, announcing that a union had been effected between the kingdom and republic of Hayti, and that the whole country was in future to constitute but a single government, under the presidency of Gen. Boyer.

The latter, now invested with the undisputed sovereignty

of the western part of the island, employed himself in giving stability and order to his new administration in the North. Gen. Richard was continued in command of Capô Francois, now changed once more to Cape Haytien—but he was craftily furnished with a supervisor, under the name of an assistant to his authority; and such an officer was found in Gen. Magny, the chief who had abandoned the cause of Christophe by a forced desertion from his lines before Port au Prince. The high dignitaries of the kingdom were deprived of their titles, and the fiefs and principalities were reduced to a more agrarian equality. Most of them reverted to the possession of the state, and through neglect of cultivation they fell within a short time into utter dilapidation. The negroes were released from their forced labors upon the soil, though they were exhorted as citizens of the republic to form themselves to habits of industry and peaceable obedience. The surviving family of Christophe was placed under the protection of Boyer, and the dismantled palace of Sans Souci and the Citadel Henry were suffered to remain in untenanted loneliness,—the frowning memorials of the despot who had made them the abodes of himself and his victims. Having established tranquillity, and confirmed his power in the North, Boyer returned to Port au Prince, where he fixed the permanent seat of his government. He was followed to his capital by the widows both of Dessalines and Christophe—the one an ex-empress and the other an ex-queen. The latter, finding her situation in the country ambiguous and embarrassing, if not positively dangerous to her personal safety, soon embarked with her daughters for France, and she at length took up her abode in Italy.

But the submission of the North to Boyer's authority was not destined to be perfect without bloodshed. The great chiefs of the kingdom had been humiliated by being deprived of their honors and princely revenues, and they were greatly dissatisfied that they no longer possessed the means of acquiring wealth and enjoying the luxury of royal favor such as had been lavished upon them in profusion during the existence of the monarchy. The officers of Christophe's army had been suffered to retain their military rank, and in numerous cases to remain in the exercise of their accustomed authority—subjected, how-

ever, to the espionage of a republican officer, who acted as lieutenant to the royalist chieftain. These ci-devant nobles were thus left with ample means to conspire against the authority of Boyer, whose celerity of movement had forced the institutions of his government upon the North against the secret wishes of many of its leading inhabitants. Not many months had elapsed after the return of the president to his capital before Gen. Richard, the commander of Cape Haytien, was busying himself with designs to subvert the new order of things in that province, in order to the restoration of the monarchy. By the most conciliatory insinuations, and a revival of the old antipathies against a mulatto government, the black general soon gained over to his purposes a formidable host of conspirators, both from among the citizens and soldiery. But through the vigilance and fidelity of Boyer's partisans the design was discovered, and before the moment of its execution such precautionary preparations had been made to defeat it that the project was abandoned. In the town of Gonaives, however, through the negligence or treachery of Gen. Gerome, its commandant, who had once been a baron of the kingdom, a mutinous spirit manifested itself among the black troops. They refused to obey the commands of their officers, and began to engage in scenes of riot and pillage, while a few voices were heard amidst the tumult, exclaiming "Vive Richard, roi d'Hayti." The republican officers fled in panic, and the inhabitants of the town shut themselves within their houses. The place was thus left to the unmolested possession of the revolted soldiery, who without any intelligent chief to direct them in their enterprise, did nothing but traverse the streets of the town in riot and drunkenness. This license continued for three days, when the prompt arrival of troops from Port au Prince crushed the rebellion without much difficulty, and the leaders were conducted to the capital to be executed.

The propitious star of Boyer had now guided him to the possession of what Christophe had exhausted himself with efforts to obtain, and what Petion had sighed for without daring to cherish a single hope that its attainment could be accomplished. A new train of events was now in preparation to elevate Boyer to the undivided

sovereignty of the island. Since the departure of the French from their last possessions in the Spanish territory, the government of that part of the island had remained in the hands of the municipal authorities of the several districts, who were in some places Spaniards, while in others, and these the most numerous, they were blacks or mulattoes. The population was generally peaceable and religious ; and while the inhabitants were permitted to lead their usual indolent and roaming life they cared little for the possession of power, and it required little exertion on the part of the magistrate to maintain the restraints of law and order. But emissaries from the western part of the island had been employed among the Spanish negroes, both by Petion and Christophe, to awaken an ambitious spirit among them, and to persuade them to unite themselves with their brethren of the French portion of the island, to constitute but one people,—the guardians and protectors of African Independence in America. Petion's efforts had been fruitless, and Christophe had but partially succeeded in his attempts, as with all his insinuations and menaces of vengeance he could not overcome the sluggishness or stupidity of the Spanish negroes, or animate them to an ambitious desire to become his subjects, and be crushed by his despotic power. But the struggle was now at the point of its utmost fierceness between the forces of Spain and the rebellious provinces of that nation in South America. The armed vessels of the patriots thronged the seas of the West Indies, and made frequent visits within the ports of Spanish St. Domingo. It was soon discovered, or suspected by the Spanish royalists who remained in the island, that plots were in preparation to deliver up that most ancient of the Spanish American colonies to the power of the new governments upon the continent. This intelligence excited in the bosoms of the whiter races either a spirit of bitter hatred and aversion to the cause of the patriots, or an ambition to imitate them by seizing upon the government of the island, and erecting themselves into an independent power. Many partisans of Boyer were at the same time busy among the population, urging them to give themselves a political existence by making use of the power which they, as the numerical

majority of the people, possessed to unite themselves to the government at Port au Prince, and form an integral part of the great Haytien republic.

These various considerations soon brought on a popular effervescence, and the hitherto quiet population of the Spanish territory became actuated as if by a new existence. Secret consultations, which though pompous enough in externals generally evaporated in cigar smoke, contradictory opinions, and a dull though universal excitement, were evidences that the poison of human ambition was fully at work among the black hidalgos and wandering matadores of that part of the island. This state of things terminated to the advantage of Boyer, as the Spanish negroes and mulattoes preferred rather to submit themselves to his power than to undergo the trouble of erecting a new government of their own, or to throw themselves into the arms of the South American patriots, whose friendship they more than doubted. The authorities of Santo Domingo were clearly of this opinion, for when the new project was laid before them they yielded a ready assent, and a deputation immediately set forward in the month of December, 1821, to convey the wishes of the Spanish blacks to the mulatto chief of the French part of the island. Boyer was formally solicited to grant his consent that the Spanish part of the island should be annexed to the republic. This was a demand so gratifying to Boyer's personal ambition that any reluctance on his part to comply with it was clearly impossible. Thus the Spanish deputies were received with the utmost graciousness, and dismissed with every favor that gratified hope could bestow.

But a year had elapsed since the rebellion in the North had transferred the realms of Christophe as a precious godsend to the peaceable possession of Boyer, and the army of the republic was now ordered to put itself in readiness for a victorious and bloodless march to Santo Domingo. Boyer placed himself at its head, and a rapid advance was made into the heart of the Spanish territory. Not the least resistance was encountered, and the inhabitants of each of the towns in succession hastened emulously to testify their adherence to the cause of the republic, until the invading column marched at last in a

sort of triumph into the city of Santo Domingo. The principal authorities, and the people generally, made a formal transfer of their allegiance to their new rulers, and were permitted to remain in the enjoyment of their former privileges. The chief command of the lately acquired territory was placed by Boyer in the hands of Gen. Borgella, and the president returned to Port au Prince, gratified by the extraordinary success with which fortune had crowned his administration; which he commenced by governing a distant province in the southwestern part of the island, and by a succession of unlooked for incidents he had been placed at the head of the whole country, without a competitor to annoy him, or any malcontents to disturb the internal repose of his government.

The death of Christophe, and the elevation of Boyer to the government of all St. Domingo, were events which had in the meantime created a strong sensation in the ranks of the old colonists residing in France, as well as at the office of the minister for the colonies. Boyer's attachment to France was presumed to be stronger than that of his predecessor, Petion, and under such circumstances new hope was derived from the event of his exaltation to power. It was now thought that an occurrence so propitious to the claims of France upon her ancient colony would lead to a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty which had been interposed against the success of former negotiation. The French cabinet immediately formed the resolution to sound the new chief of Hayti as to his sentiments in regard to an arrangement between the two governments. The difficulties in the way of an easy conquest of the country, and the tone of firmness which had been held both by Christophe and Petion to all former demands made upon them by the agents of France, had by degrees depressed the hopes of the colonists, and diminished the expectations of the French government in relation to the claims upon St. Domingo. The restoration of the island to its former condition of colonial dependence, and the establishment of the ancient planters in the possession of their estates and negroes, were no longer regarded as events within the bounds of possibility, and the demands of France upon the government of Hayti were now lowered to the

mere claim of an indemnity to the colonists for the losses which had reduced them to beggary. French ships of war now entered the ports of the republic, where they were received with every demonstration of respect; and the natives of France who resided in the island were not only protected by Boyer, but honored with his private friendship, and made the depositaries of his secret wishes. He desired that some definitive arrangement might be made between the two countries, which would secure to the blacks an exemption from their perpetual anxiety, and to French commerce a reciprocity, if not some partialities, in the trade between the countries.

In consequence of the hopes derived from these amicable sentiments of Boyer, a multitude of statements were sent home to France by the natives of that country, assuring the government of the opportunity which was offered to frame a treaty between the two nations. These communications renewed the demands made upon the minister of marine, who commissioned M. Esmangart, a man high in favor with the blacks of St. Domingo, to open negotiations with Boyer, to ascertain what approaches might be made to an adjustment of the claims of the French government. In the month of February, 1821, M. Aubert du Petit Thouars arrived at Cape Haytien, as the agent of the French government. From this place he dispatched a letter to Boyer, assuring him of the kind intentions of the king of France, and informing him that his majesty was ready to make any sacrifices for the happiness of the people of St. Domingo, and for the establishment of peace, if the conditions could be established upon a basis alike honorable to both parties. "The claims of France," continued the letter, "are so moderate, so just, and its conduct toward St. Domingo has been such, since the restoration, as to manifest the sincerity of its desires for the amicable arrangement of differences which have already existed too long."

The negotiations being thus commenced, M. Aubert proposed to Boyer the acknowledgment on the part of France of the independence of Hayti, if the latter country would acknowledge in return the *simple suzerainte* of the kings of France, or a right of protection similar to that exercised by Great Britain over the Ionian islands. This



right was a mere titular benefit, not involving any commercial advantages beyond those enjoyed by the most favored nation. To this proposition, which included within its provisions more benefits to St. Domingo than to France, Boyer returned a prompt refusal, declaring that he would not admit any suzerainté, direct or indirect, or the least shadow of any protectorate whatever. But at the same time he renewed the offer which had been made formerly by Petion, to pay a reasonable indemnity to France, as a discharge of the debt due the ex-colonists, and the price of an acknowledgment by France of the independence of Hayti. As this seemed Boyer's ultimatum, M. Aubert departed for France, while no answer was returned to it by Esmangart, and the negotiations remained suspended for a year, the French government waiting for new overtures from Boyer.

At length a secret agent of the minister of marine held an audience of Boyer, and informed him that the French government having in former years made repeated attempts to accomplish an arrangement between the two countries, all of which had been fruitless, it was desired that Boyer himself would renew the negotiations in his turn. In consequence of this information, Boyer appointed Gen. Boyé as his plenipotentiary, who was furnished with instructions authorizing him to commence negotiations with the appointed agent of France, either in that or some neutral country, for the purpose of terminating the differences existing between their respective governments. M. Esmangart and the Haytien envoy agreed to hold their conferences at Brussels, but the hopes of the two contracting nations were in this instance also destined to be frustrated. The parties could not agree as to the nature of the indemnity to be made. The French agent required the payment of a stipulated sum, while Boyer's envoy proposed only certain commercial privileges, which he deemed equivalent to an indemnity in money. In consequence of this unyielding spirit on the part of the two contracting parties, the conference was brought to a rather abrupt termination by the sudden departure of M. Esmangart from Brussels, leaving Gen. Boyé to wonder at the brusquerie of his fellow negotiator, and to wait with hope deferred for further communica-

tions from him. Gen. Boyé was left to find his way back to St. Domingo, and M. Esmangart seized upon the occasion of the departure of a French gentleman, M. Laujon, for Hayti, to write to Boyer, informing him of the regret he felt at the failure of the late negotiation to decide the question of Haytien independence. He assured the president that the disposition of his government toward Hayti was still favorable; and he manifested the most earnest desire that a definitive treaty should be concluded between the two nations. M. Laujon was instructed to give a confidential explanation to Boyer of the details of the conference at Brussels. It was alleged that the French government had little confidence in Boyer's agent, and that the latter had committed two capital errors, by announcing beforehand that if the negotiation was not terminated within a month it was the resolution of Boyer to break it up, and by his repeating in his letters of introduction the idle rumors of the day in regard to hostile designs entertained by France against Hayti. In consideration of this unworthy character possessed by his late agent, Boyer was solicited to appoint a new envoy, more personally conciliating in the estimation of somewhat fastidious opponents. Yielding to these requests, Boyer appointed Larose, a senator, and Rouanez, a government notary, to proceed to France furnished with a long letter of instructions, to guide them in the minutest details of their mission. These new deputies arrived at Havre in June, 1824, and soon after this the conferences commenced between them and M. Esmangart, at Paris. Boyer had instructed his agents to demand, in the first place, a royal ordonnance, recognizing the independence of Hayti;—and in return for this they were to offer an indemnity, consisting of a reasonable sum of money, and the grant of certain commercial privileges in favor of France. They had been ordered to treat for the independence of the whole island; and the political condition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo proved an obstacle to prevent all hopes of success from the negotiation. The French deputy declared that his government had no authority to treat for the eastern part of the island, as it was legally subject to Spain. In addition to this it was intimated that the royal ordonnance would never

be given, acknowledging the independence of Hayti, without the insertion of a clause by which the king would reserve to himself the exterior sovereignty of Hayti. This insinuation, made during a conference with the marquis of Clermont Tonnerre, the French minister of marine, so wounded the national sensibility of the Haytien envoys, that their agency in the negotiations was at once paralyzed, and the term which Boyer had himself imposed upon the conferences being expired they demanded their passports and returned to their country to tell the story of their wrongs.

This new failure in the negotiations with Hayti created much uneasiness in France. The colonists began to despair of obtaining their long hoped for indemnity, and the commercial and manufacturing classes were grievously disappointed in their expectations of a profitable trade with St. Domingo. New considerations came to swell the discontent. A rumor spread abroad that the English government was preparing to interfere, and secure to itself the chief advantages of the trade of the island. An agent had already been dispatched to conclude a treaty with Boyer on the basis of a uniform reciprocity. It was likewise told that Boyer was engaged in contracting a loan with a company of English merchants, with which he intended to liquidate the debt due to the ancient colonists, and leave the negotiations with France upon a basis of mere sovereignty, or treat the claims of that country in future with total indifference. The jealousy of the French mercantile population was not suffered to sleep, from other considerations. Boyer had granted to an English company the privilege of working the mines of the eastern part of the island; and though this permission was but a calamity to the adventurers in whose favor it had been granted, still, amidst the passion for mining speculations which was then contagious among the capitalists of Europe, this act of Boyer was deemed in France an evidence of favoritism exercised towards a rival nation.

Urged on by these various considerations, the French government determined upon measures to compel Boyer to yield his consent to an arrangement between the two nations, and by a summary process to put France in actual possession of her claims upon St. Domingo. The

Baron de Mackau, an intelligent officer in the French navy, departed from Rochefort in May, 1825. He had been appointed an agent to carry on new negotiations with Boyer, and it had been arranged that his official protocols should be backed by the whole French naval armament in the West Indies. The frigate *Circe*, which had carried out the new negotiator, had been ordered to join the squadron under admiral Jurien, who with his whole fleet was to enter Port au Prince without giving Boyer any previous intimation of his intentions. This movement, together with the formidable armament employed in the measure, it was hoped would intimidate Boyer into a readiness to yield to the demands of the French government. Admiral Jurien sailed into the harbor of Port au Prince on the 3d of July. The fleet was brought at anchor directly abreast of the town, and every preparation was immediately made to excite a panic among the blacks, by demonstrations of a hostile meaning. The wretched policy of the chiefs of the island had left the towns without fortifications, and Boyer saw his capital exposed to destruction by an unexpected movement, which seemed to threaten him with immediate war. The utmost consternation overspread the place, and Boyer anxious and trembling, hastily dispatched one of his officers aboard the flag-ship to ascertain the purposes of the armament, the sudden arrival and menacing attitude of which seemed thus to portend hostility against the country. Great was the exultation of Boyer to discover that the intentions of the expedition were peaceable, however severe might be the conditions upon which this amicable disposition depended. Baron Mackau landed the next day under a salute from the forts of the town, and he was received in state at the government house by Boyer, who proceeded the same evening to enter upon the consideration of Mackau's demands. The French envoy had been furnished with a variety of ordonnances, embodying a series of propositions, among which one might be found more conformable than the rest to the opinions of Boyer, or at least less objectionable in its exactions to his national scruples. The president found none of them such as he could willingly subscribe, if he were left to conduct the negotiation at the suggestion of his own desires.

But he dreaded the consequences of a refusal, which he feared would involve the destruction of his capital; and he was influenced by the urgent entreaties of the foreign merchants, who came in a body to beseech him not to provoke the ruin of the town, where there existed such an immense amount of property belonging to them, all which had been entrusted in the country on the faith of the government. Thus perplexed and entreated, the upright but powerless Boyer had no alternative but to yield himself to the demands of Mackau, or as he feared deliver his country to the horrors of another French invasion, which though it might not succeed in conquering would certainly revolutionize and subvert the existing government.

The compact which was finally adopted contained conditions which were rather those of a victorious enemy than of a sovereign power treating with another in a time of peace. After a short deliberation Boyer consented to an ordonnance of the king of France, which though it was but an announcement of the royal will in relation to St. Domingo, was adopted as a voluntary contract between the two nations. It was dated upon the 17th of April, 1825, and its contents were of the following tenor.

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre: We have ordained, and do ordain as follows. 1st. The ports of St. Domingo are open to the commerce of all nations. The duties levied in the ports, whether upon vessels or merchandize, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all nations except for the French flag, in favor of which those duties shall be reduced one half. 2nd. The present inhabitants of the French part of St. Domingo shall pay into the treasury of France, in five equal instalments, from year to year, the first of which shall become due on the 31st of December, 1825, the sum of one hundred and fifty millions of francs, destined to indemnify the ancient colonists who shall claim an indemnity. 3d. We grant upon these conditions, by the present ordonnance, to the actual inhabitants of the French part of the island of St. Domingo, full and entire independence of this government."

Apart from the humiliation of conducting negotiations

in a manner so one-sided, the stipulations of this treaty included no concessions different from those which both Boyer and his predecessor Petion had already made. Both had offered to grant commercial advantages, and an indemnity in money, as the price of the independence of the country, and to quiet the just claims of the ancient colonists. But these had been offered separately, and with no intention perhaps that both should be granted together if it were possible to accomplish the desired end without it. France, by her summary mode of proceeding, had obtained nothing more than she had every reason to expect as her just award, unless we may add that she had at last put an end to the long and perplexing succession of negotiations and conferences which had eventuated in so little success.

The contract was submitted to the deliberations of the senate, and its stipulations were all confirmed by the unanimous consent of that body. The restoration of peace and alliance between France and her ancient colony filled the blacks with intoxication. The independence of Hayti was proclaimed at Port au Prince amidst the greatest rejoicings, and the officers of the French squadron were treated as national guests, the honored representatives of a people who above all others commanded the admiration and respect of their Haytien allies. All the details of a definitive arrangement between the two nations remained to be settled, and in the enthusiasm of the moment it was resolved to appoint commissioners for this purpose, and to finish the negotiations without delay. It was likewise necessary to make provision for paying the first instalment of the indemnity, the time of which had been fixed at a period much too early for the convenience of the government.

For these objects Boyer made choice of M. M. Daumée, Rouanez and Fremont. The embassy endured a loss that was irreparable by the death of M. Daumée, who had been placed at the head of the mission, and was infinitely better qualified than his colleagues for the employment for which they had been selected. A loan was, however, contracted with the house of Lafitte, on the guarantee of the French government, but upon terms extremely unfavorable to Boyer. In the remaining part of their negotia-

tions the two commissioners were totally unsuccessful, in consequence of their placing the pretensions of their government beyond what the French cabinet was willing to allow. When about to return without the hope of a definitive arrangement, they were furnished with the articles of a proposed convention, which if received would have conferred inordinate commercial advantages upon France.

Though Boyer by this transaction had done no more than an act of strict justice to France, by consenting to indemnify the ancient colonists for the spoliation of their property in the island, he had nevertheless inflicted an injustice upon his own country; as in its present impoverished condition it was not in possession of the means to pay a single installment of the stipulated indemnity. The French government had itself given a guarantee for the loan contracted with Lafitte, and upon the expiration of its term it was found unavoidable to repay the liquidated sum, as no provisions had been made by the Haytien government to fulfil this object; and in this condition the debt has remained ever since, the French government finding that Boyer through his poverty is furnished with a means of eluding the claim which through his timidity or short-sightedness he had been led to acknowledge.

The demagogues of the country and the political enemies of Boyer were furnished by this late arrangement with France with a powerful engine to fan the discontent of the people, and arouse their hatred against the existing administration. The ignorant blacks, though secure in the asylum of their own poverty and wretchedness from any exactions to be imposed upon them for the purchase of their independence, were taught to believe that they would be driven to new exertions and have the avails of their industry torn from them in order to pay off the enormous pecuniary obligations contracted by their government; others, though convinced that Boyer's conduct in the affair had been dictated by a desire to preserve the country from calamity, and that all possible means should be practised to secure the friendship and alliance of so great a nation as they deemed the French, were nevertheless discontented at the enormous debt which had been entailed upon the country, and they sincerely lamented that the treaty had been ratified by the senate, as it was thought

the concessions of the president alone would have been sufficient to purchase the departure of the French squadron, when after the danger was past the nation might have valiantly resolved never to consent to such an arrangement. The old chiefs of the insurrection based their discontent on other grounds, assuming that they had purchased their independence with their swords, and that the massacre of their ancient masters had given them a legal title to their estates. They professed to feel themselves dishonored by being compelled to pay an indemnity for what they already possessed in fact; and one of these old chiefs rushed into the presence of Boyer, and drawing his sword offered that as the only equivalent he would ever consent to deliver for the boon it was thought so desirable to obtain from France. Nor were the inhabitants of the Spanish part of the island in all respects satisfied with the treaty, and remonstrances arose among them against enslaving themselves to pay an indemnity which was to purchase no advantage for them, as they were expressly excluded from any participation in the provisions of the arrangement.

Boyer had foreseen that much clamor would be raised against the treaty, and he had cautiously prevented the ordonnance from being circulated among the people. But this measure proved ineffectual, as the functionaries of the government, to whom the treaty had been submitted for ratification, returned to their homes to carry the report of its stipulations to every part of the republic. The secret of the discontent existed in the necessity there had been created to increase the productions of the country, in order to furnish the means of paying off the stipulated debt—an obligation which might be extinguished in a few years by additional exertion directed to that end, but which in the existing condition of the government can never be paid until the course of human affairs is finally terminated at the general dissolution.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Structure of the Haytien government—Elections—Privileges and character of the legislative body—The cabinet—Finances—Inferior agents of government—Power of the president—The army—Military spirit of the government—National guard—System of defence against invasion—Judiciary—Religion—Priests—Ecclesiastical anarchy—National manners—Language—Prejudice of color between the blacks and mulattoes—Spanish blacks—Appearance of the ancient plantations—Buried treasures—Travelling in the interior—Conclusion.

THE existing government of Hayti is a sort of republican monarchy, sustained by the bayonet. Almost all the sovereignty of the country is vested in the president, though he is not placed above the indirect control of the people. But this control is furnished by considerations altogether beyond the natural operation of the government. It resides in the jealousy existing between the two colors; as the mulattoes, to preserve the sceptre of power in the possession of their caste, are driven to compliances which a negro president would feel himself empowered to spurn from him as the basest infringements on his dignity.

In the structure of the government the *chambre des representans* is the only branch emanating directly from the people, and even this is guarded from the profanation of the rabble by a standard of qualifications, which places the control of the elections in the hands of a privileged few. Every person employed as a menial in any situation is by his occupation exempted from the exercise of the elective franchise. The mass of the population are far below a capacity to feel any political ambition whatever; and the class of electors, comprising most of the mulattoes, the employés of government, and a few cultivators of the soil, are actuated by little effervescence of feeling in the exercise of their high privilege. The elections are made rather as a wager is decided between the competitors for some insignificant trifle, than with the pomp and circumstance attending those bitter epochs in our own government. The representative is elected for a term of three years, and by the chamber of representa-

tives the senators are chosen, upon the nomination of the candidates by the president, and these latter hold their offices for nine years. When a vacancy occurs in the senate a nomination is made by the president of three candidates for the vacant dignity, whose names are presented to the chamber with instructions to elect either of the persons submitted to their choice. Thus the senate is but an extension of the president's cabinet, so far as partisanship is concerned; and such is the influence of the government in the elections for the lower house, that within that body also the majority for the president is so overwhelming, that evil is sure to befall any attempt to array an open and avowed opposition. During the session of 1833, the most important—I had almost said the only act of the national legislature—was the expulsion of two of its members, named Deumelle and St. Preu, as was alleged “for systematically opposing the measures of the executive, and persisting in demanding a statement of the public expenditures.”

By the structure of the government the initiative of all laws resides with the president alone; neither the senate or the chamber of representatives possessing the right to originate within their own body the outlines of any enactment, which the condition of the country may be deemed to require. The only check upon the absolute will of the president exists in the constitutional right enjoyed by the legislative bodies to reject the project of laws proposed by the president for their concurrence. But the prerogatives of the president extend so deeply into the very sanctuary of legislation, that it is dangerous for the members to array themselves against the will of the executive, lest they should share the fate of Deumelle and St. Preu. But even this centralization of all power in the hands of the president is often insufficient to preserve the country from the evils of an ignorant or unnecessary legislation, as the chambers sometimes abuse the little authority they possess by so modifying and changing the character and bearing of an enactment as to defeat the designs of the president, and divert his policy into a course repugnant to his better reason.

On rare occasions, and in circumstances which have a personal bearing upon the members themselves, the cham-

bers dare the displeasure of the executive, and entirely reject a law which has been proposed to them by the latter. In the session of 1832 a bill had been prepared by the president with a view to the more speedy administration of justice, but the chamber of representatives, being composed chiefly of persons under pecuniary obligations in some quarter or another, were inclined with Lord Mansfield to the opinion that it was unpopular to make people pay their debts, and thus they rejected the measure, though it was in direct opposition to the president's wishes.

Generally speaking, these Amphictyons are very harmless appendages to Boyer's government, and amidst the entire leisure in which they spend their sessions they employ themselves in the little sphere of legislation, which as it relates to the wants and comforts of their own body may be called exclusively theirs. One session was consumed in animated discussions upon the expediency of fitting up the hall of the assembly house with cushioned seats, and another upon the propriety of appointing an interpreter, to render those members speaking exclusively French or Spanish intelligible to each other. Upon a certain occasion it became necessary during their labors that each member should subscribe his name upon a document, in the manufacture of which the united wisdom of the chamber had been for a long time sedulously engaged. A few signatures only had been obtained, when an honorable member rushed to the tribune to inform the assembly that he could not write his name. The spell of modesty, which had hitherto restrained others from a like avowal, was now effectually removed, and a long and wearisome procession, comprising most of the members of the assembly, mounted the tribune in succession to declare the similarity of their misfortune, by repeating the words, "I approve of what the former gentleman has said."

A mulatto gentleman of intellectual pretensions by no means of the most modest kind, having gained a seat in the chamber of representatives soon put himself in readiness to witch the world with a display of his Ciceronian propensities. He seized an early opportunity to mount the tribune, from which he commenced a bitter philippic against the use of a copper currency within the republic.

His principal arguments were the national greatness of Hayti, and the diminutive value of a copper coin. He pronounced that it was unbecoming a great republic to permit the circulation within its limits of a coin so insignificant. He demonstrated by proofs drawn from a thousand sources, that copper was a metal furnished exclusively by the poorest and most northern countries, but that gold and silver were the products of Hayti alone. He more than insinuated that copper was directly poisonous, and as such unfitted to be used as a medium of traffic among the citizens, and he openly denounced it for its noxious effluvia, which he asserted was the chief cause of his opposition to its employment.

The members of the senate and chamber of representatives are dressed in a prescribed costume, and are decorated with cockades upon their hats. The session occurs in June, and is held at Port au Prince. The days of sitting are confined to the Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of each week. There are three standing committees to prepare the business of the chambers, those namely of legislation, of the interior and of the finances. The chiefs of the cabinet are merely clerks at the head of their respective bureaus. The treasurer general is but a receiver of public monies, and the head of the department of state neither originates nor is allowed to conduct the details of any measures of public policy. Boyer's principal adviser is Ingenac, the secretary general, who may be called the head of the council. He is a very fair quateroon, who was appointed by Petion to the situation he now occupies. He possesses the reputation of being subtle, designing and treacherous. He is undoubtedly a man of considerable talents, and his craftiness of character and capacity for political intrigue have gained him the reputation of being called the Talleyrand of Hayti. His machiavelism is an offset to Boyer's honesty; and while the one has the heart to feel, the other is said to furnish the head to plot, and by this division of labor the administration is perfected by the exercise of the opposite peculiarities in the respective characters of these two chiefs.

The financial condition of the country is one of great perplexity to the government. The utmost exactions have thus far completely failed to satisfy the yearly demands

upon the treasury ; and thus with every returning year the efficiency of the government is more and more diminished, through the necessitous state of its finances. The receipts usually fall short of the expenditures of the government by a difference of nearly a million of dollars, and this deficiency is made up for the moment by a forced emission of government notes ; a policy which produces a periodical depreciation in the currency of the republic, and stamps a false value upon all articles of traffic. This wretched system of fiscalization is prevented from inducing immediate ruin upon the country, by a slight yearly increase in the quantity of its natural productions ; which by its augmenting the amount of exports from the island furnishes to the public chest an annual sum sufficient to balance the difference between the public receipts and expenditures. In this state of things it is seen that the country is saved from utter want and political dissolution solely through the spontaneous productiveness of its soil. For this progressive consumption of the purse no remedy is applied by the adoption of measures to develop a greater variety of internal resources, or by what would be more practicable,—a system of rigid retrenchment and economy in the operations of the government. Amidst this abject poverty of the treasury, and the total nonexistence of any public credit, the hirelings and petty subalterns of the government swarm among the population of every commune, like so many vampires exhausting the life blood of the country ; as with responsibility to the chief of the government, which is merely nominal, these public agents make little pretensions to the vulgar qualities of honesty and conscientiousness, and immense sums are annually lost to the treasury by means which are perfectly inexplicable to the treasurer general. A director of the customs in one of the principal towns was detected a few years ago in the very act of making appropriation to himself of enormous sums, which had passed into his hands on their way to the treasury of the republic.

The functionaries of the government in the different towns and parishes of the country, compose a class of the citizens which is very far from being the most respectable. But few persons among that fractional part of the population which embraces those the most worthy, industrious

and honorable, have much ambition to become placement, and to rank themselves with associates whom amidst the distinctions of society they would refuse to acknowledge as their acquaintance. They find a field for more profitable enterprise in mercantile pursuits, cultivating the soil, or cutting mahogany in the forests of the interior. This class of citizens, composed chiefly of the more intelligent mulattoes, is the elite of the population, and the only portion to redeem it from utter degradation and barbarism. The individuals composing it are with few exceptions intelligent and industrious, of a sensitiveness and delicacy of feeling which makes them valuable companions, and of an honorable spirit, which gives them a claim to respect. But to the misfortune of Boyer, this class of the people forms but an insignificant minority, bearing a numerical relation to the remainder of but little more than the hundredth part.

The ignorance as well as dishonesty of the inferior agents of government is a sad obstacle to the progress of public prosperity. Important official details are so awkwardly performed as to fail completely of the end they are designed to accomplish, or are neglected altogether through the mere want of a due sense of public responsibility. Cases often occur like the following: A law is made by the president and his chambers to secure a due watchfulness in relation to some particular detail of official affairs, or to create an alteration in the features of some existing regulation. The statute may or may not be embodied in a language of sufficient exactitude. But the administrator of a distant town, with the unfailing obliquity of dullness, will perhaps gather from the expressions of the new law a course of duty for himself which is in all respects the very opposite of that which is really required of him. The whole community included within the limits of his jurisdiction is accordingly thrown into tumult and dismay at this arbitrary perversion of power. All business is perhaps suspended—mobs, popular resentment and uproar succeed, and the district is convulsed with disorder. Expresses are dispatched to the president to furnish intelligence to him of the distress and calamity which are prevalent, and to demand of him instructions for the guidance of the authorities in a crisis so embar-

raising. An answer of explanations, connected perhaps with a reproof, is obtained from Boyer, and the storm is hushed for the time, to be renewed when ignorance, caprice or prejudice change the uniformity of public duties into measures of oppression, or relax the reins of authority to give a license to disorder and anarchy, which will continue till another corrective mandate arrives from Port au Prince.

The judiciary of the country not being possessed of a sufficient reputation to ensure any respect to its decisions, the final interpretation of the laws is always referred to the president in person. He is made the sole judge of the intent and operation of the statutes made by his chambers, and he modifies the nature of the act to suit his views of public utility. The honest and upright character of the president makes this enormous prerogative greatly conducive to the public good. Whenever a law is discovered by its direct operation to injure instead of promoting the public prosperity; it is turned from its natural course by the potent word of the president, and so changed in its bearing as to produce quite another effect from that which was originally intended. Whenever the more enlightened opinions of Boyer prove insufficient, with all his constitutional power, to arrest the Cade-like legislation of his chambers, he yields a formal compliance to their wishes, and after their dispersion either neglects entirely to execute the law, or obliges the government printing-house to give to the regulation a structure and import more favorable to the interests of the country; and the naked enormity of the bill as it proceeded from the hands of its framers, is entirely concealed by the new vesture and coloring given to it by the public printer.

Both the morale and the materiel of the Haytien government consist in the military spirit embodied in the very minutest of its organism. From the days of the first insurrection to the present, the black chiefs of the country have sought to sustain their power through the agency of the military, and from Toussaint to Boyer all have avowed the policy of seeking to preserve the internal tranquillity of the country, and to sustain it against attempts from abroad, by making the population a nation of soldiers.

This originated in the circumstances of the revolution, which furnished arms to all the negroes, and in the incessant wars between the rival chieftains which for so many years overwhelmed the country with civil strife. To this it may perhaps be added, that this martial organization was adopted from a desire to model the government of Hayti after the example of revolutionary and imperial France; and as it was found necessary to possess a military force to maintain obedience to the laws among a barbarous population, it was wrongly concluded that the larger this force the more perfect would be the obedience, untill by the structure of the republic every man is required to be a soldier, and to consider himself more amenable to the commands of his military chief than to the civil institutions of the government.

Every individual, with some exceptions in regard to cultivators, during the period of his life between the ages of sixteen and sixty, is required by law to be enrolled as a soldier of the republic, either in the corps soldée, or regular troops of the line—or the corps non soldée, or national guard. The actual force of the former, which is the most considerable, is about forty thousand, distributed in strong detachments in the different towns and communes throughout the country. These troops are a sort of African janizaries, half citizen and half soldier. They follow the standards of their respective regiments, and constitute the garrisons of the different towns in peace, and are concentrated to form the national army in war. They receive the ragged habiliments of their military costume by means of appropriations made from the public treasury, a coat namely every year, and a shako, or military cap, every two years. For shoes, nether garments and other requisitions of their military toilette they manage “to find linen on every hedge.” These soldiers, with whom one might justly refuse to march through Coventry without incurring the imputation of excessive fastidiousness, are paid out of the treasury of the republic a sum which varies from half a dollar to one dollar a month, according to the existing solvency or other exigencies of the state. Upon the Saturday and Sunday of each week they are required to parade themselves at their cantonments, to undergo the operations of a review and



military drill. On these occasions a small fatigue party is taken from each regiment, to perform the duties of mounting guard within the town where the military force is stationed, and the remainder of the regiment is dismissed to consume its time until the following Saturday in cultivating the soil, pursuing some mechanical art, or acting as laborers in any capacity to which inclination leads. Thus the army of the republic is after all but a species of militia or citizen soldiery, but with all the burlesque characteristics of our own doughty establishment of a like kind, the troops of Boyer are but mere hireling cut-throats, without character or habits of industry, and ever ready to employ themselves in scenes of disorder and depredation. Every town and borough is a military cantonment, filled with a garrison of soldiers, and maintaining the operations of government by the drum and bayonet. The reveillé awakes the inhabitants in the morning, and the retreat and retirement to quarters, drummed at sunset and nine in the evening, announce to the population that the sentinels are stationed for the night. *Qui vive* is demanded of the night traveller as he passes from street to street, and if a reply is not made to suit the pleasure of the black subaltern on duty, the wayfarer is seized forthwith and conducted to prison amidst the taunts and insults of the negro guard.

Every municipal measure, from the promulgation of a law down to a negro dance, is performed at the beat of a drum. The civil is every where subservient to the military power, and the administration of justice in the tribunals of the republic can only be performed at the pleasure of the chiefs of the army. Not a person could be found so regardless of his personal safety as to dare to commence a legal prosecution against an officer of an advanced military grade, and the summary decision and corporal chastisement administered by the commanding general in person, is the only efficacious method of obtaining justice against petty offenders.

The soldiers of the army are, from the nature of their employment, which prevents them from becoming fixed residents upon the soil, schooled in idleness, vice and disorder, and the policy of the government tends to perpetuate and increase the evil, by conferring a conventional

superiority of rank upon the class of *militaires* over that of cultivators. The more unsophisticated and less vicious negroes of the plantations are taught to respect the idle and dissolute soldier as their superior and patron ; and this greater respectability allowed to the profession of arms fills the minds of the ignorant blacks with eager aspirations to be admitted into the ranks of the army, and to soothe the pantings of their ambition with the pomp and circumstance of war. It is through the universal respect paid to military rank, rather than by a conscientious support accorded to the claims of the civil power for the promotion of national happiness, that the president is enabled to maintain the authority of the executive. He is feared and obeyed rather as the chief of the army than the president of the republic. The negroes, ignorant of the foundation and artificial structure of civil government, have no conception of moral injunctions to obedience, nor of the claims of any authority over them save those which establish relations between them and the great chiefs of their nation, whose warlike prowess or superior skill has given them an ascendancy over the rest of their race.

This dangerous military spirit, intermixed with the very principles of the government, operates as a perpetual paralysis upon the prosperity of the country, and effectually prevents any melioration in its condition. The most robust portion of the population is, as it were, diverted from habits of industry and personal enterprise by the wretched policy which seeks for safety to existing institutions by keeping on foot a host of armed men as sentinels against the advance of civilization. While columns of ragged soldiers are traversing the country in battle array, agriculture lies desolate and cultivated tracts grow up into a waste of thicket. A host of military as well as civil officers is thus imposed upon the government, as drones sustaining themselves in idleness from the public purse, and still farther impoverishing a country which owes them nothing for public services. These evils are those more immediate, but others still more formidable are involved in the remoter tendencies of this military power. An army of barbarian soldiers, trained to disorder and crime, is a fearful engine in any government, but

peculiarly so in one constituted like that of Hayti. While such a weight of military power is possessed by the great officers of the army, nothing is wanted but a spirit of rivalry between two chieftains to deluge the country with civil war, and turn the military machinery of the government against itself, to destroy what it is destined to preserve and perpetuate. This must ever be the natural operation of things until a wiser policy shall dismiss the untamed rabble composing the army to cultivate the soil, and shall trust the preservation of the government to the patriotism of the more orderly classes of the population, formed into a corps of national guard. By an error in policy which could not well be more directly the reverse of wisdom, the augmentation of the latter corps is absolutely discouraged by the executive, which with the madness of suicide rejects the proffered assistance of the more respectable classes, and trusts its security in the hands of the regular soldiers, who with nothing to attach them to the soil, and without a single sentiment of true patriotism, are ever ready for any change which furnishes an opportunity for pillage, and for gratifying their evil propensities.

The national guard is a meagre corps, composed of those who have escaped a forced enlistment in the ranks of the line, through special favor or accidental advantages. It includes among its numbers a large proportion of those who, having an interest at stake in the country, are desirous to maintain the peace and security guaranteed by a permanent government. Within the districts of the South the national guard is composed almost exclusively of mulattoes, and a large proportion of that caste is included within its ranks even in the North, where the population is almost wholly black. But the national guard seems to exist in the country merely by sufferance, to furnish the president with recruits for the increase of his regular army. The population of Aux Cayes is composed to a considerable extent of intelligent, respectable mulattoes, who, unwilling to have a horde of black troops quartered upon them when they deemed their own numbers sufficient for all purposes of defence, and for the preservation of internal tranquillity, formed themselves into a body of national guards, consisting of two regiments of infantry and two squadrons of very respectable

cavalry. But this measure militating against the spirit of Boyer's policy, gave origin to an order from the executive requiring the dissolution of these corps and their transformation into troops of the line. The mulattoes obeyed with disgust and indignation a mandate which associated them without distinction with the common mass of black soldiers; and thus by Boyer's infatuation the South is outraged by being subjected to a military power not its own, and discontent is perpetuated in a province where Borgella inherits the mantle of Rigaud.

The measures of Boyer tend to perpetuate the system of defence adopted by the ignorance or necessitous circumstances of the chiefs of the revolution—his predecessors in power. No attempts are made to fortify the towns upon the sea-coast, and the government trusts in all cases of foreign invasion to a flight into the interior, leaving the towns and the whole tract behind them a waste of ashes. This policy might be judicious in the dreadful necessities of former times, when a horde of ignorant, trembling blacks were called to encounter the hosts of a well disciplined and well appointed European army; but measures of desperation are never adopted as the guiding principles in all emergencies of public affairs, or as the only resources upon which to depend for a nation's defence. If upon the appearance of every hostile fleet off the coast the edifices, the opulence, and the means of sustenance in every town are to be remorselessly consumed in the flames, the mud-cabins and wretched poverty of king Boy's capital on the Niger should be the models for his more civilized but scarcely more reasonable countrymen in St. Domingo. If the labor and successful enterprise of years are to be destroyed by a suicidal system of defence, adopted in every case of foreign aggression, but little encouragement will exist for individual industry to give permanent prosperity to the country, when the report of a hostile gun is the signal to apply the torch to every thing combustible. The feeling of insecurity inspired by this miserable policy already manifests its effects in the towns along the sea-coast. The edifices are of the most frail construction, erected apparently rather as places of temporary sojourn than as permanent dwellings for a steadfast and thrifty population. The fortifications of the

harbors, erected in former times through the precaution of the French government, are now suffered to fall into complete dilapidation ; and instead of these efficient means of defence wretched mud stockades are substituted, so contemptible as to be unworthy of a place among the machinery of a militia sham-fight. They are not only powerless against an enemy, but they are incapable of defending the harbors from insults committed within them by any roving vessel of a force the most insignificant.

The Code Napoleon, modified to suit the difference in latitude between the two countries of France and St. Domingo, has been adopted as the system of laws to govern the country. The judiciary consists of a court of cassation at Port au Prince, and district courts in the several arrondissements. Trial by jury is practised in them all ; but the mode in which this right is exercised or abused makes it a worthless privilege, if not a decided evil in the country. Although the prohibitions embodied in the civil and criminal codes of the country are usually well defined, and sufficiently comprehensive for all purposes of justice, and the Proteiform combinations of common law do not exist to perplex the simplicity of justice, yet the dark and winding intricacies of a long and complicated trial, involving a multitude of technical principles, and obscured by a thousand varying contradictions of testimony and legal opinion, are clearly beyond the comprehension of the jurors, upon whose wondering dullness or prejudiced obstinacy the arguments and empassioned appeals of the counsel have nearly the same effect as to attempt to batter down a mud wall with roses. During the course of a criminal trial which took place in one of the courts on an accusation of forgery, when, after a long and tiresome process of legal examination and discussion the jury had at last retired to prepare a verdict in the case, the foreman, who alone of his twelve associates knew how to write—an acquirement which he had employed in the course of the trial in taking notes of the evidence—made the usual demand of one of the jurors as to his opinion of the case. “Moi,” exclaimed the astonished black, “moi, ou connâ crire, et ou demandé moi ce que moi croire de lui ; ou ta crire tout, laissez

nous connâ que ce que vous avez fait.\* With such a jury to determine cases of justice in the country it is easy to conceive that the innocent might become a victim to the ignorance and prejudice of his judges, and the guilty escape from the just award of his crimes by purchasing the propitiousness of those so little amenable to moral responsibility.

While the courts are furnished with so hopeful a jury, the learning of the bench is by no means so cumbrous as to interfere with the speedy administration of justice. A most learned judge, delivering his opinion in a case of commercial difficulty, involving the difference in exchange between the depreciated currency of the country and that in use abroad, asserted magisterially that he could not take it upon himself to undervalue by his decision the money of the republic. A prosecution was terminated at Aux Cayes by the conviction of the defendant in the action, and his being sentenced to a long imprisonment. After enduring his incarceration for a length of time the condemned person, feeling himself strong in his innocence, commenced a new process against his opponent for false imprisonment before the court of Jeremie. Here the original judgment was not only annulled but altogether reversed—the former plaintiff having his poisoned chalice commended to his own lips, as he was now condemned to an imprisonment of three years, because it was discovered that the court which had condemned his opponent had no rightful jurisdiction in the case, and had by its usurped authority committed an injury upon a citizen which could only be atoned for by the punishment of the former successful litigant. In another instance a thief was prosecuted for having stolen some articles of food while being cooked in a pot over the fire. It was argued in the defence that the larceny was committed under the influence of excessive hunger—and the court decided that it was not unlawful for a man to steal victuals when he was hungry. To this it was replied that the thief had stolen the pot as well as the victuals, and of course the former article could not be included under the rule. But in this dilemma the court decided that as the victuals could not be conveniently taken away

\* Me, you know how to write, and do you ask me what I think of him? You have written it all down—let us know what you have done.

without the pot, it was allowable that the pot should accompany its contents.

An inferior magistrate made a decision better than that of Solomon, if the latter had been executed according to the strictly literal interpretation of the king's order. Some trespass had been committed upon the premises of a neighbor by the intrusions of a pig. But the case upon its trial was so imperfectly made out, and the pig so ably defended, that the affair was clearly beyond the legal sagacity of the judge, and he could not for the life of him decide as to the human parties in the case. To extricate himself from so great a perplexity he ordered that the arm of the law should fall upon the pig, which was ordered off to prison to expiate the offence it had committed.

A crucifix is the chief agent employed to awaken the veracity of witnesses in the courts of justice, and the Catholic religion degenerates among such a people into downright idolatry and naked superstition. No race is, more than the African, given to religious feelings, though these being but mere sensations entirely independent of thought and reason, manifest themselves in a display of idle fooleries, or dark and hideous terrors of the imagination. They intermix the legitimate ritual of the Catholic faith with the mysterious adoration paid to their national Fetishes, and the African obi and the Catholic priest both come in for a share of their respect and homage. Most of the Catholic priesthood resident in the island are famished adventurers, issuing from the overstocked friar's stalls of Europe, chiefly French and Spanish. These ecclesiastics, guided more by hopes of gain than the moral precepts of their creed, come to the country for the purpose of making a traffic of their religion. The blacks are overjoyed to purchase prayers and absolutions of these retailers in sacred things, though it is at prices the most exorbitant. For masses and confessions the priests make it a point in all cases to demand their payment in Spanish coin, urging upon their penitents that heaven will not receive the deteriorated currency of their country as an equivalent for its mercy; and brilliant fortunes have in numerous instances been suddenly gathered by a traffic so gainful. The apartments of the priest

are thronged at all hours by a host of negroes piteously supplicating him for *une petite priere* for themselves, or for the deliverance of the souls of some of their deceased relatives. All the fêtes of the church are observed with an ostentatious pageantry; and though the processions and services have not that imposing magnificence known in more wealthy countries, still a band of martial music is substituted for the more pompous performances of the organ, and the *bonnes chretiennes* exert themselves by fantastic or gorgeous dresses to give eclat to the ceremony.

Among such a people nothing would prove such a mighty engine to promote civilization and pure morality as a good priesthood. To succeed in establishing any other faith among them than the Catholic is an affair of utter impossibility, even if it were desirable; and thus it only remains to purify the mighty influence possessed by the teachers of that faith. If such an institution were possible, a native priesthood trained to a holy walk and conversation, would constitute the most effectual machinery ever employed by the chiefs of the country to give moral and intellectual elevation to the national character, and secure a permanence and solidity to the institutions of the government. But in the present state of things such a result is hopeless, and the Christian religion, instead of its operating a change upon the character and prospects of the country, must continue through its abuse to pour still greater darkness into the minds of the population, and perpetuate the ignorance and barbarism which now envelopes the land in a cloud of Egyptian darkness.

The educated part of the population and those endowed with sufficient natural sagacity to penetrate into the designs of the priests, are led by these perversions of religion to clear themselves at one bound from all restraints of the kind; and mistaking the mummery of an idolatrous worship and the crafty practises of the priests for the teachings and institutions of true christianity, they persuade themselves that all is but a solemn imposition, and openly avow themselves atheists. It is already the case that none but females and a few stupid but upright negroes of the country are very frequent at mass, or cherish much reverence for the ministrations of the church.



The restraints of religion are becoming less effectual every day, and the nation as it grows older in its freedom is in danger of becoming more and more corrupt, until barbarism and vice will in another age constitute the hideous characteristics of the national character.

A complete ecclesiastical anarchy exists in the country with regard to the organization and government of the national church. A few years ago the Pope consecrated a bishop to be placed at the head of the established church in St. Domingo. The new bishop arrived at Port au Prince at the moment when an Irish abbé, who had just emigrated to the country, was setting up pretensions to the ecclesiastical authority of the island. The headstrong Irishman refused to yield an allegiance to the new bishop until a fair contest had taken place between them, to decide their rival claims to spiritual supremacy. The two priests thus placed in the attitude of equal competitors for the vacant dignity, set all their activity at work to create for themselves a party to espouse their interests, and sustain their adverse pretensions against each other. Boyer's capital was thus distracted by two religious factions, whose bickerings and personal rencounters disturbed the tranquillity of the citizens, and were a scandal to the nation. At last, while the ceremony of mass was in performance at the church of Port au Prince the two priests, each at the head of his respective body of partisans, came to a drawn battle, which took place in the centre of the church, and was conducted with an equality of skill and bravery such as to place its decision out of the question. Intelligence of the broil was carried to the president, who quickly dispatched a detachment of his guards to disperse the militants and shut up the church. An order was then issued to the priests to depart from the country within twenty-four hours. The Irish abbé, content that he had not been overcome by his opponent, whom he had drawn into a like misfortune with himself, went aboard an American vessel, and sailed for the United States. The bishop sailed for Europe in a vessel which never arrived at its place of destination. The Pope, indignant at the disrespect implied toward himself by the treatment bestowed upon the bishop he had granted to Hayti, perseveringly refused to send another, and

the church of the country remained without an authorized head. To remedy this evil the president assumed to himself the powers of the head of the church, and appointed the officiating priest of Port au Prince to be vicar-general of Hayti. But this only augmented the evil it had been intended to remedy, for the priests of the country openly refused to yield obedience to a dignitary unacknowledged by the Pope, and each one continued to exercise the duties of his cure independently of all exterior control. Relations have recently been again established between the government and the Pope, by the mission of bishop England to Port au Prince, and the church of the country will probably receive a new organization, which will connect it more intimately with the Holy See.

The national manners of the blacks of St. Domingo are the result of traits of character peculiar to the French and African races. The negro is remarkable for the plasticity of his nature, and the qualities of a foreign people are readily engrafted upon the original propensities which mark the African character. The awkward attempts to be graceful in carriage and address, and the undue importance ascribed to frivolous trifles in conduct, attest that the manners of the Haytien blacks are copied, and point out the nation which has stamped its own characteristics upon them. When the revolution was at an end, and they found themselves a free and independent people, their next desire was to form their manners and habits after the standard afforded them by those whom they had so long regarded as perfect models of politeness. The customs of the ancient regime became thus perpetuated or burlesqued under the dominion of the blacks, and the national politesse of the French was superadded to the more barbarous propensities of the African slave. France is still regarded as the very beau ideal of all countries, and this feeling of high respect entertained toward that nation is transmitted from generation to generation, in spite of the hatred which is professed so patriotically against its hostile designs upon the island. The highest compliment which it is possible to offer to a Haytien black is contained in the simple asseveration that he resembles a Frenchman in his personal manners. The customs of the French revolution had already been prop-

agated in St. Domingo before the extermination of the whites had given to the negroes entire possession of the country. From this habit of servilely imitating the French in all qualities, good and evil, the vices also of that epoch were adopted in St. Domingo, and still continue to prevail and increase, when a better era has abolished them in France. Licentiousness of conduct, neglect of marriage, infidelity, and crude conceptions in politics still prevail among the population of St. Domingo, when those abominations have long since grown obsolete in the mother country.

The national egotism of the French when joined to the native vanity of the African character produces an exaggeration of personal pretensions which is ludicrous in the extreme. The citizens of the republic, actuated by this feeling, assume that their country is a brilliant point in the system of nations, diffusing to them illumination and happiness, and that all kingdoms of the earth are clustered around it, eager to enjoy its smiles and participate in the favors which it bestows. Without the permission of Hayti it is thought no coffee could be drunk. No other nation is presumed to possess such vast agricultural resources, or to enjoy the advantages of a commerce so extended. The merchants of the earth are deemed emulous to reap the profits of the trade to their coasts, and regard their country as the mine of all their wealth. Sentiments in fine are entertained which bear a close resemblance to those uttered by a Chinese emperor, who said in the preamble to a celestial edict "to allow poor foreigners to come and buy tea to keep them from starving."

But the influence of France upon the national character of the blacks of Hayti has not done more than give a tinge and coloring to the qualities of their original stock. The peculiarities of the African race are as strongly demonstrated in the favorite habits of the lower classes as among our own negroes. They are, however, much less robust than the slaves of the United States, and as if the possession of freedom was an unnatural condition, each succeeding generation is endowed with less vigor of constitution than was possessed by its predecessors; and if this deterioration continues the population of the country will one day become as fragile in bodily constitution

as the Indians who were found in the island by Columbus.

The mass of the people are not only uninstructed, but so profoundly stupid as to give rise to doubts if they are furnished with any intellect whatever. They know nothing of their age or of the events of their life but by referring to some prominent epoch in the history of the country; as the "ancien regime," the "ouverture du Nord," or the "temps de Toussaint." They remember nothing of the ages of their children but by circumstances attending their birth, as the time when corn spindled, or coffee began to be husked. Many prolific mothers do not actually know how many children they have; though they can of course point them out individually, yet having no idea of numbers they cannot count them. It is so of space. The French league is employed in the country to measure distances, but vast numbers of the population have no definite conception of the extent of that admeasurement. If a traveller inquires of them the distance to a given point, the reply is always that it is a "long way," or that it is three leagues, which being the utmost extent of their knowledge in regard to numbers is applied by them to any length of road extending beyond their immediate neighborhood.

A distinction is recognized by law between the class of laborers and that of proprietors; and the regulations established by Toussaint and Dessalines for the prosperity of agriculture, and to make a just division of its avails, are still preserved in the laws of the country under the denomination of the code rurale. But the aristocratical principle which makes such invidious distinctions, and enables the proprietor to compel the laborer attached to the soil of his plantation to perform a daily task and receive one fourth of the harvest as the reward of his season's toil, has been discovered to be uncongenial with the institutions of a republic based upon the maxim that all men are equal. Thus "the toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier, and it is found impossible to enforce regulations against it without a restoration of such arbitrary despotism as that experienced under the sway of Christophe. The negroes are thus permitted to roam at large legally independent of each other, and invested with the full enjoyment of their beloved indolence. An

exception to this is said to exist within two districts in the north of the island, those namely of Grande Riviere and Port de Pai. The commanding generals of these *arrondissements* are black chieftains once attached to the service of Christophe, and convinced by the results which they saw acquired by his rigid severity toward the lower classes of the population, that no means are so effectual as absolute compulsion to induce the negroes to labor, they still continue the policy of their royal master, and make coercion the basis of their measures for the prosperity of the districts under their command. Delinquent laborers, vagrants, and petty offenders are in these two *arrondissements* seized and punished by scourging instead of imprisonment; and this severer punishment is found to produce much greater effects than incarceration, which has in it no terrors to the black. In consequence of this more summary government, the condition of things in these two districts is deemed to a great extent better than that which exists in other parts of the country.

No person is allowed in any part of the republic to carry the products of his labor to the market towns upon any day of the week except Saturday and Sunday. This restriction is for the purpose of ensuring the proper cultivation of the soil, by obliging the blacks of the country to confine themselves to their labors for four days in each week. Upon these working days the negroes are prohibited from assembling to amuse themselves by dancing, or any mode of festivity,—such seasons of merriment being exclusively confined to the religious feasts or national anniversaries established by the rules of the church or the laws of the republic. The dances introduced from Africa are still in vogue, and upon Sundays and fête days the monotonous, thumping sound of the bamboula is heard in all directions. This is a species of drum, formed by stretching a dried skin over the end of a small cask, which being laid upon its side is beaten with the hands of a person who sits upon it. A candle or sugar-box beaten with sticks, is used as a clattering accompaniment to the more deep-toned sound of the bamboula. With this characteristic orchestra a ring is formed in the open air, and the voluptuous African dances commence with shrill, drawling outcries, the sound of which is more plaintive than exhilarating or lively.

The African race, unless influenced by the desperation of cowardice—a feeling that actuates them to indiscriminate and relentless cruelty whenever they rise in rebellion against their masters—are by nature a mild and pacific people; and this respectable trait of character is a redeeming quality among the blacks of Hayti. In no other country perhaps is there such entire absence of all enormous crimes among the population; and the fact that murder and robbery are almost unknown in the black republic should put to shame many a more civilized people. The unexampled security of a traveller among the population of the interior is almost incredible—for he may journey from one extremity of the island to the other, carrying millions of treasures about his person, without the least danger of violence or of any interruption whatever. A great number of blacks are employed upon the road as pedestrian expresses, passing from one town to another, loaded with bundles of paper money belonging to the different mercantile houses, and never an instance has yet occurred of a robbery committed upon these unarmed travellers, by hostile attack or secret depredation. Almost the only prevalent crime is petty theft, the pilfering in detail from some place of deposit of such articles as present a strong temptation to the cupidity of the negro. The black carrier never feels any suggestion to embezzle the treasures which he has in his wallet; but when he has delivered them up to the proper owner it is always necessary that he should be watched with vigilance, or a small sum will be snatched from the pile by the very person who has so lately been in actual possession of the whole. A negro would never think of seizing a whole bale of goods, but a single article if exposed to his depredation is almost sure to disappear as if carried off by invisible hands.

The mendicity of the country is formidable, as one cannot pass through a single street of the towns, or a cluster of mud cabins in the country, without encountering a multitude of loathsome, naked creatures, hideous with disease and deformity, who are emulously calling out "*quelque chose a manger*"—*charité pour les pauvres*"—a plaintive supplication, which is often suddenly changed into furious execrations, should the desired boon

be refused by the passer by. No succor is granted to these victims of poverty and decrepitude through the generosity of the government; and doubtless if they could recall the reminiscences of former years they would heave many a bitter sigh at the changes which have occurred since their youth, when the old and infirm negroes of the plantations were secured from the miseries of want and destitution, by the humane law which furnished them a home and ample provision for their comforts upon the plantation where they had spent their youth in labor. It is dangerous to give way to the benevolent suggestions of the heart at the sight of such outcasts of our race, as the ready bestowment of charitable assistance upon them will be sure to attract them again to the door upon the succeeding day, assisted in their outcries by a reinforcement of all their companions in poverty, who together form a concert of supplications and a panorama of ugliness by no means the most delicious to human feelings.

As is the case with all barbarous nations, the females are compelled to perform most of the labor. Those of the country employ themselves in cultivating the soil, while the men spend their time in traversing the country on horseback, in drinking, smoking, and other habits equally unprofitable. The females of the towns perform all the retail traffic of the country, and are denominated marchands, or shopkeepers, as in the provincial towns of France. They derive a subsistence for themselves and their families from the patronage of the foreign merchants, who furnish them with an assortment of imported articles, which they vend to the negroes of the country; and while all these transactions are performed upon a system of credit, both the foreigner and the retail vender depend upon the crop of coffee for their payment. The supply of this staple production governs all mercantile affairs, as it regulates the markets and the currency of the country.

The language of the country is a provincial patois, consisting principally of corrupt French, interspersed occasionally with a Spanish or African word. It has few inflections to give it expressiveness, but this quality is communicated to it in perfection by a vast variety of modifications of voice and gesture in the person speaking. But one mood, that known among grammarians

by the term infinitive, is applied to the verbs, and the differences of time and circumstances are expressed by prefixing particles before the word. Thus *je parle* is expressed *moi parler*; *je parlais* by *moi te parler*, and *je parlerai* by *moi va parler*; the particles *te* and *va* being corrupt derivations from the auxiliary French verbs *etre* and *aller*, and the phrase signifying literally *me speak*, *me was spoke*, and *me going to speak*. It is said that no foreigner is capable of attaining a complete knowledge of all the occult significations and the varied expressions given by the natives to this negro French, by means of the changes and combinations to which the different phrases are subjected by the speakers. What cannot be expressed in any other language can be easily uttered or signified through this singular flexibility of the Creole tongue, by means of one or two words adroitly selected and accompanied by the peculiar gesture and intonation significant of the idea. The language runs readily into rhyme, and the blacks express both their joy and grief by song; and by a union of singing and pantomime they mysteriously describe their future designs of insurrection, pillage, or love. The following is a portion of one of their love songs, with a French version to correspond.

## Creole.

Lisette quitté la plaine  
 Moi perdé bonher a moi  
 Gle a moi semblé fontaine  
 Dipi moi pas miré où  
 La jour quand moi coupé canne  
 Moi songé zamour a moi  
 La nuit quand moi dans cabane  
 Dans bras moi kimbé où.

## French.

Lisette a quitté la plaine  
 J'ai perdu mon bonheur  
 Mes yeu sont comme une fontaine  
 Depuis je ne vous vois pas.  
 Quand je coupe la canne par jour  
 Je me souviens de m'amour  
 Quand je suis en cabane par nuit,  
 Je vous tiens dans mes bras.

The mutual jealousy and mistrust existing between the negro and the mulattoes having grown up amidst the storms of civil dissension is still unabated and unrelenting. The mulattoes are greatly superior to the blacks in intelligence and respectability, but immensely inferior to them in secret cunning. Since the revolution neither of these two castes will permit themselves to be called negroes or mulattoes—and *negre* and *mulatre* are the terms of reproach which they reciprocally cast upon each other in their personal quarrels. These, though arising from any other cause, are soon diverted from the real source



of offence, and become based upon the old ground of difference of color—the mulatto heaping upon his opponent a torrent of contemptuous epithets in relation to his degraded nature, and the black threatening in his vengeance that a time will soon come when the hated race of mulattoes will be swept from the soil of the country. The mulatto general Lepoint had the leg of a negro sawed off for calling him a mulatto, and both classes are highly incensed if a white man calls them by their generic names of negro or mulatto. The good sense of Petion is manifested by his reply upon this subject of national vanity; and it proves that he thought there was much less in a name than did his fellow mulatto, Lepoint. A black called upon the president to impeach a white for having called him a negro. “Why did you not call him a white,” was the pertinent answer of Petion.

The prejudice of color existing among the mulattoes in relation to their fellow-citizens, the blacks, is almost as great as that once entertained by the whites of the colony against the class of mulattoes. Intermarriages between the two castes are extremely rare, and such unions are regarded by many of the mulattoes with absolute disgust. The habitual hauteur and assumed pretensions of the mulattoes are a perpetual source of irritation to the vanity of the blacks, and thus the breach between them is every where widened and made permanent. The blacks are subjected to continual annoyance by injurious distinctions established between the two races; and feeling conscious of their numerical strength in the state they retaliate upon the mulattoes by refusing to obey them as officers, or by oppressing and outraging them as private citizens. The inhabitants, of every shade and combination of color, manifest that they are dissatisfied with the complexions which their parents have given them, and they make unceasing endeavors to appear whiter than they really are. No parvenu pretender ever labored with more eagerness to gain admission into the highest ranks of fashion, than these multi-colored republicans to be included among those of the class next beyond them in approach to the whites. The pure negro seeks to ally himself to the griffe, the griffe to the mulatto, the mulatto to the quateroon, the latter to a mustif, and the mustif, having

but an untraceable tinge of African blood in his organization, is uproarously indignant if he is accused of having any at all.

A young black of education, habits, and personal exterior much beyond the common standard, paid his addresses to a young mulatto lady, who quickly declined the offered alliance, simply on the ground of complexion, as the young negro was decidedly prepossessing in his manners, was the son of one of the principal chiefs of the republic, and more than all, had received an education in France. But all these esoteric and exoteric accomplishments availed him nothing in the estimation of the fair mulatress, who alleged with frankness that for herself she cared little, but to have children blacker than herself, *petits enfans griffes*, how horrible!

A measure proposed by Napoleon to break up the obstacles to the tranquillity of the country, existing in the invidious pretensions of color, is still mentioned among the population. This policy, as summary and decisive as that which repudiated one empress and began immediate negotiations for another more likely to succeed in perpetuating the existing dynasty, was to compel every male inhabitant of the island to take to himself two wives, one of whom was to be black and the other a mulatress. The universal affinity and relationship established between all complexions and classes by this novel arrangement it was expected would subdue all existing animosities, and secure the internal peace and tranquillity of the island forever. But in this the evident fact was overlooked that there already exists a tie of blood between the hostile races, and that the relationship between the mulattoes and whites once had no other effect than to embitter their mutual enmity, and augment the cruelties of the time in a tenfold degree.

Boyer's administration is a perpetual attempt to balance the different complexions against each other in such a manner as to prevent the blacks from acquiring an undue ascendancy in the government. A majority of the great chiefs of the army are mulattoes, and the same condition exists in almost all the high offices of the state. In the regiments of the line the promotion of a black is sure to

be followed by the advancement of some mulatto to a post of equal authority, that justice may be done to the blacks without encroaching upon the prerogatives claimed by the mulattoes. But if the present condition of the army continues, the higher appointments will at some future time be all possessed by blacks; for almost all the subalterns are of that caste, as but few mulattoes seek for military preferment—most of them being engaged in more profitable occupations.

The mulattoes pride themselves upon their being the “anciens libres,”—the only class of the present population who were freemen, and proprietors of estates before the revolution. Many of them were wealthy planters before that epoch, and were beggared by the emancipation of their slaves. Some of them attached themselves perseveringly, through good and evil report, to the cause of the white proprietors, while others joined with the negroes to drive the whites from the country; but all of them employed the blacks as the mere subordinate agents of their designs,—and they have ever refused to admit the claims of the latter to a political equality with themselves. The blacks will not consent to these assumed prerogatives; and though the mulattoes, through their superior capacity and intelligence, have invested themselves with the supreme authority of the country, the blacks, feeling strong in their numbers, treat the mulatto subordinates of the government with taunt and insult, and perseveringly refuse to yield a voluntary homage to the invidious pretensions of that caste.

All classes of the population profess to dread the return of a white domination in the country. The situation of foreign whites in the republic is in many respects like that of the Jews of Europe during the middle ages. They are all regarded as wealthy, as legitimate objects of pillage, as evils tolerated in the country because their enterprise is necessary to the support of the public finances; and they are in all cases expected not to presume to maintain their rights against an African competitor. One of the authorities of the country delivered himself of the axiom upon a public occasion, that it should be regarded as a criminal act to take the property of a native citizen for the payment of debts due to a white man.

All spoliation committed upon the property of a white, either by public oppression or individual depredation, is regarded as a glorious Spartan theft and a real boon to the state. No foreign white is allowed to possess landed property in the island—to contract a marriage with any of the citizens, or to hold a lease of real estate for a term of more than ten years. The tables are not exactly turned upon a white adventurer in the country, for he is not viewed with the contempt which is visited upon the African in other countries; but he is respected as a superior being, feared as a tyrant, and hated as the natural enemy of the negro race.

The scattered population of the ancient Spanish territory embraces within it a few pure Catelans, who reside in the plain of the Vega; but the great majority of the inhabitants, dispersed so thinly over that extensive tract of country, is made up of a multitudinous variety of shades and complexions, such as to set all attempts at classification at utter defiance. Among so motley a race the claims of any one to pure European descent are qualified by his being denominated a white man of the country, by the usual reply which is given to the question as to an individual's ancestry—"Es blanco? Si señor, un blanco de la tierra."

The ancient plantations, once such opulent domains, are fallen into utter dilapidation, and nothing but the walls of the various edifices remain as monuments of former magnificence. These are concealed in a growth of wild shrubbery, which the fertility of the soil has caused to spring up on all sides, covering immense tracts once occupied as fields of cane. Even the negro cabins upon these plantations were built of solid masonry, and their roofless walls are still in good preservation. The descendants of the slaves who once occupied these commodious residences make no attempts to restore them to a habitable condition,—and they prefer a hovel made of mud and wicker-work, and concealed in the depths of the thicket, to the superior conveniences of the abodes where their ancestors dwelt. Upon a soil which requires but the planting of the seeds to ensure a gainful harvest, these negroes live in perfect idleness and the most abject poverty. Buried treasures have at different epochs since

the independence of the country been dug up among the ruins of these deserted plantations. These occurrences inflamed the cupidity of the blacks to the utmost, and for a season gave rise to a universal desire for money-digging. Sufficient sums have been discovered to leave no doubt that immense treasures have been left concealed under the soil during the disastrous times of the revolution. Twenty thousand dollars in doubloons were, not many years ago, discovered upon a plantation near Cape Francois, and smaller sums have at different times been dug up in the neighborhood of Port au Prince and St. Marks. So much has been found as to excite the attention of the government, which has become jealous of the good fortune of the discoverers. A municipal regulation now exists, forbidding under severe penalties the concealment of this revealed treasure from the knowledge of the government, or silently appropriating it to individual possession. The proportion of one third is allowed to the discoverer, and the remainder is divided between the government and its subordinate agents in the transaction. In later times the entire absence of public credit or private security has led many of the black citizens of the country to bury their treasures for their preservation; and this practice is universal among all the more thrifty cultivators of the coffee districts in the interior. With such subterranean investments of capital, in cases when the possessor dies suddenly without pointing out to his heir the locale of his buried treasures, the family of the deceased are reduced from comparative opulence to utter destitution through the fatal negligence of their intestate progenitor.

As to public conveniences the population of the island is almost solely indebted to the achievements of a former age. The enterprise of the French during the existence of the colony is still evinced by the public works in roads, bridges and canals, which though sadly neglected and many of them in ruins, are the only media of communication between the different towns and settlements of the country. Carriages are almost unknown, and horseback travelling is the only method of conveyance in use among the population. As there exist no inns upon the road, and no hotels in the towns, the traveller is fol-

lowed in his lonely ride by a pack-horse loaded with provisions, and for a shelter by night takes the bad fortune of a dirty negro cabin, or "trusts to the sky for a great-coat." The attempt to obtain a supply of food from the cabins of the natives would be as fruitless as the hope to purchase oranges in Siberia. To every demand made successively for the various articles of gastronomic employment, the reply is invariably the same—"Pas gagné a rien, monsieur."\* If astonishment is expressed at such destitution, and a new inquiry is made as to what they employ themselves about, the answer is still "a rien, monsieur." Crossing into the Spanish territory the same condition is described in a different language—for if it is demanded of these blacks what is the nature of their employments, the answer is readily forthcoming—"nada, senor."† If the question is renewed as to what their ancestors did, the simple answer is still, "nada, senor." These blacks assume the manners of Spanish hidalgos, forever smoking and forever lounging in their hammocks. A few of them are herdsmen or mahogany cutters. In the vast solitudes of the interior the former reside continually on horseback, with a lasso at their side, and a small case of cigars and a bottle of aquadente at their saddle-bow. The flesh of their cattle serves them for food, and the hides are sent to the different towns upon the coast to be exchanged for their favorite luxuries.

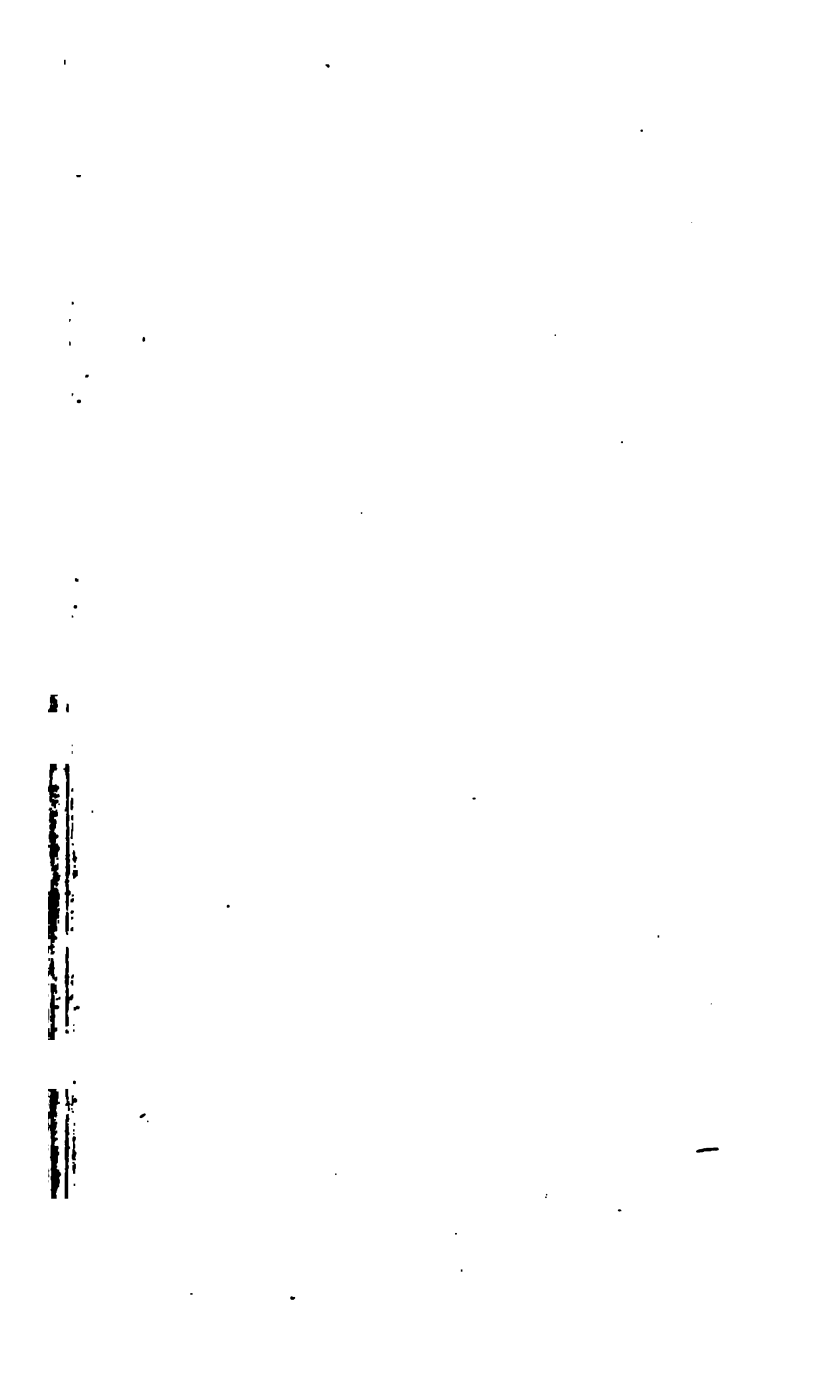
In fine, to sum up all that might be said upon the actual condition of Hayti, poverty and degradation stare one in the face wherever he goes—and the state of the whole island will be fully understood in the United States when it is bluntly asserted, that the country is one continuous negro village, built of mud cabins, and unfurnished with the usual comforts of life. The population is, with small exceptions, an indolent, naked multitude, without sustenance or a disposition to make exertions to obtain it; without enormous vices, but petty and insignificant in every thing relating to human character, and not many removes from the tribes upon the Niger in point of civilization. The fact is indisputable, that as a nation the blacks of St. Domingo are in a retrograde

\* Not got any thing, sir.

† Nothing, sir.

movement as regards intellectual improvement, and no obstacle seems to exist to prevent this descent to barbarism. The government and institutions of the country must for the present remain unstable, and it is difficult to pronounce what the changes involved in the future will produce.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.













**AUG 3 , 1976**

